

THE  
AMERICAN ECLECTIC.

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MARCH, 1841.

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NO. II.

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ARTICLE I.

MEHEMET ALI, AND EGYPT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE conspicuous part which Mehemet Ali\* has acted in the affairs of the East, and the measures which have been recently adopted to curtail his power, have imparted to his character and history a peculiar and almost universal interest. His successful invasion of the territories of his nominal master, the Sultan of the Turkish Empire, awakened the mutual jealousies of Russia, England and France, and endangered the peace of Europe. The alliance formed to restrain his ambition and limit the extension of his power, is second only, in strength, to that which was arrayed against Napoleon Bonaparte; and whatever may be our opinions, as to the policy of the allied powers or the righteousness of their demands, we cannot but rejoice that the Pacha of Egypt has yielded to the necessities of his condition, and that thus the great "Eastern Question" has been, as we hope, arranged in a manner which will be satisfactory to the nations concerned in its adjustment. It is not certain, however, that this arrangement will produce permanent peace. The manner in which it has been effected presents new causes of disaffection between England and France, and has changed the relations of the leading powers of Europe. Discussions, therefore, may arise out of this apparent settlement of the Eastern Question, which will yet bring those powers into collision, and thus dash the hopes of continued universal peace, which have been so confidently entertained.

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\* We copy from the English periodicals the French spelling of this name, which seems to have been adopted in the diplomacy of the allied powers, and to have become, of late, the European usage. It has usually been written in English history, and as we suppose more correctly, Mohammed Ali.

In view of these doubtful results of the late eastern war, it is to be expected that the topics connected with this subject will continue to be discussed with earnestness in Europe. Nor can they be regarded with indifference by ourselves. Our peaceful relations with all the world, our commerce, and the freedom and success of our philanthropic enterprises may be deeply concerned in the results of these discussions.

As introductory to what we may have occasion to bring before our readers, on these topics, we have selected the following article from the "Colonial Magazine," a monthly periodical published in London, and conducted, with great ability, by Robert Montgomery Martin, Esq., Author of the "History of the British Colonies," &c., and shall follow it with a brief article from the London "Monthly Review" on the policy and measures of England, Russia and France in respect to the "Eastern Question."—SR. ED.

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From the Colonial Magazine for December, 1840.

WHATEVER may be the fate of the Pacha of Egypt, he must be regarded by posterity, after the Emperor Napoleon, as *the* man of the first division of the nineteenth century. Born the son of a petty dealer in tobacco, Mehemet Ali is, even though deprived of Syria, the ruler of dominions far exceeding those of the mother-country; territories and people, that have never acknowledged the Sultan or Mohammedanism, have been subjected, and are now governed by him, as a whole, under a hybrid sort of rule, which cannot be called either legitimate, usurped, or delegated. He wrung Egypt from the Porte, and added to it the whole of Syria, and great part of Asia Minor, as far as where the Euphrates enters the Persian Gulf: in all the Arabian peninsula (except the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat, protected by the English alliance), in Nubia, in parts of Abyssinia, with the plains of Sennaar, Kordofan, and as far as the foot of civilized man has followed the various wanderings of the blue and white Nile, Mehemet Ali's power is more or less acknowledged. The extensive borders of the Red Sea, even beyond the Straits of Babelmandel, to the confines of Persia and the Indian Sea, with Candia, and the whole upper border of the Mediterranean are now included in his dominions; and the great nomade tribes of the Bedouins of Petra, Babylon, and from Bagdad to Medina, with few exceptions, own him as their lord.\* Sesostris, the Pharaohs and Zenobia are among the wonders of antiquity; but even with them, and in the very quarter of the globe where they once bore sway, modern history can contest the claim to astonishment, in the person of Mehemet Ali.

The person, the habits, the thoughts of all men of celebrity are

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\* "The *ipso facto* monarch over these strangely mixed races was born in the same year in which Napoleon and Wellington first saw the light, viz. in 1769."—*Monthly Review*.



interesting. Mehemet Ali has frequently been described to English readers in colors as various, and hues as light or dark, as the opinions or prejudices of the writers. Dr. Madden visited the old pacha a few months ago, and in a series of interesting letters, which have appeared in the "Morning Chronicle," thus gives us the latest portrait of him :

Mohammed Ali is now in his seventy-second year. He is hale and strong in his appearance, somewhat bent by age ; but the energy of his mind, the vivacity of his features, and the piercing lightning of his glance, have undergone no change since I first saw him in the year 1825, nearly fifteen years ago. He is about five feet six inches in height, of a ruddy, fair complexion, with light hazel eyes, deeply set in their sockets, and overshadowed by prominent eyebrows. His lips are thin, his features regular, extremely changeful, yet altogether agreeable in their expression when he is in good humor. At such times his countenance is that of a frank, amiable and highly intelligent person. The motion of his hands and his gestures in conversation are those of a well-bred person, and his manners are easy, and even dignified. He perambulates his rooms a great deal when he is at all disturbed, with his hands behind his back, and thinks aloud on these occasions. He sleeps but little, and seldom soundly. He is said by his physicians to be subject to a determination of blood to the head, attended with epileptic symptoms, which recur with violence when he is under any unusual excitement. In the late difficulties, previous to his answering the proposal of the Four Powers, these symptoms made it necessary for his physicians to bleed him in the arm, and take away a pound of blood. One of these physicians had to sit up with him for some nights ; and, as it was customary for the pacha to do with his attendants, he called up the doctor several times in the night, to "tell him something ;" and the poor drowsy physician was frequently woke up with the habitual query : "Well, doctor, have you nothing to tell me ?"

His palace at Alexandria is elegantly furnished in the European style, with chairs and tables, looking-glasses, several pictures, and a large bust of the viceroy himself. I noticed a magnificent four-post bed in his sleeping-chamber ; both the attendants who conducted me over the palace informed me that it never had been used : he continues the old Turkish habit of sleeping on a mattress on the floor. He rises early, generally between four and five, receives every one who comes to him, dictates to his secretaries, and has the English and French newspapers translated and read to him—one of the latter of which is known to be the paid organ of his political views.

His only language is the Turkish, and he speaks it with the greatest fluency, and in the most impressive manner. In his conversation he is sprightly courteous and intelligent ; on every subject he gives those about him the impression of a shrewd, penetrating, right-thinking man. He speaks very distinctly (thanks to the effects of English dentistry), and with remarkable precision. He is simple in his mode of living, eats after the European manner at table, and takes his bottle of claret almost daily. His manners are extremely pleasing, and his general appearance prepossessing. His expression, as I have before said, is that of a good-humored, amiable man ; but when he is disturbed in his mind he seems

not to have the slightest control over his feelings or over his features: and when he is displeased, his scowl is what no man would willingly encounter twice.

A few years ago, Europe rang with the praises of Mehemet Ali, and vaunted the regeneration he had wrought in that ancient, highly-favored, but long-degraded land—Egypt. It has now become the fashion to decry the character of the occupant of the throne of the Pharaohs. The reasons for this change of opinion are various, and worthy of consideration.

It has lately been asserted, with no slight confidence, that the fulfilment of prophecy demands that Egypt should be restored to the Porte; because, if the power of the pacha be consolidated, and Egypt become independent, the prophecy of Ezekiel will remain unfulfilled. Now in this reason there is something not only absurd, but erroneous. It is absurd, because it does not require human agency to fulfil prophetic announcement: any human attempt to work out prophecy is blasphemous. But the reason is founded in error; because the prophecy of Ezekiel is a fulfilled, and not an unfulfilled prophecy. Ezekiel, when a captive at the Babylonish court, drew with the unerring pencil of inspiration a picture of what Egypt was yet to be; wasted by the hand of the stranger—sold into possession of the wicked, and “desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away, and there shall be no more a prince of the land. They shall be a base kingdom; it shall be the basest of kingdoms.” Never was prophetic language more literally fulfilled. In 1230 the fulfilment of this prophecy commenced, when the Mamelukes, or military slaves of the Mogul and Tartar hordes that subjugated that great territory from the Caspian to the Tigris, conquered Egypt from their masters. In turn the Mamelukes erected a dynasty of their own, with the title of Egyptian sultans, under which Egypt continued until 1517. The Ottoman sultans put an end to the dynasty of the Mamelukes. From 1230 to the present hour there has been “no prince of the land” in Egypt; the foreign governors have always remained *strangers*—they have never, by intermarriage and naturalization, become part of the people of their adopted country. Egypt has been a *base kingdom—the basest of kingdoms*. When Volney, in one of his walks under the walls of Alexandria, saw two wretches sitting on the dead carcass of a camel, and disputing its putrid fragments with the dogs, he remarked: “I am above all led to believe that Egypt can never shake off this yoke.” But base as Egypt was, it was not always to remain base. Isaiah had announced that God “shall smite Egypt; he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even unto the Lord, and he shall be entreated of them, and shall heal them.”

Whether the instrument to heal Egypt be Mehemet Ali, or not, it would be presumptuous to say; but we may suggest, that he first conceived the bold idea of not only reducing this country to a state of regular settled government, but of regenerating it by means of the introduction of the arts and sciences, commerce, tactics and manufactures, together with the habits, manners and customs of European Christian nations.

Many persons have a feeling of morbid dislike to Mehemet Ali, because, although he has in the course of thirty years raised Egypt into a country of European importance, the condition of the great mass of the population is still degraded. In this there is something insincere and uncandid; it is not the abstract, but the relative merits of Mehemet Ali's government, that are to be considered. No one says that the government of the pacha is good—all that is asserted is, that it is better than any thing that had preceded it—that it is fruitful in the promise of good. All that is now good in Egypt is owing to Mehemet Ali; all that is bad is attributable to the Turkish system or circumstances. To apply to Egypt, or judge of Mehemet by the tests of enlightened or civilized government, is absurd. A government which, in a Mohammedan country, extends protection equally to the Moslem, Christian and Jew; which has founded schools of medicine and military hospitals, on a liberal and extensive scale; which has made roads, and rendered travelling secure; which has introduced the art of printing; which has reformed the judiciary systems, and given greater security to property and private rights—must have advanced the cause of civilization in some degree. Oh! but it is said that the Sublime Porte has made similar attempts. True; but not until Mehemet had shown it the example; not until the reforms and improvements of the pacha had directed the attention of the Mohammedan world to him as the successor of the Prophet himself.

There are many persons, says a writer in a weekly commercial journal,\* who find fault with the policy which Mehemet Ali adopted for the regeneration of Egypt; but they do not take into account the difficulties with which he had to contend. Nothing could be done, either for the advancement of agriculture or the creation of manufactures, without capital; and as, on the one hand, he found little or no capital at home, so, on the other hand, he commenced his career at a time, and under circumstances, which rendered a supply of capital from foreign countries altogether hopeless. He had, therefore, no other resource but to raise it by a comprehensive financial operation; and this he effected by resuming the fee simple of the whole land, and virtually constituting himself the Great Farmer of the nation—the people receiving from him a price fixed by himself for what produce they raised, *minus* the amount of a land-tax per seddan (or acre), for the quantity of land which they occupied. In this character he also dictated in what manner the land should be cultivated; and, impressed with the idea that Egypt was most favorably situated for commerce, the cultivation of commercial products became his principal aim. The vigor with which he carried his plan forward is astonishing; cotton, raw silk, sugar, opium, indigo, and many other articles of less importance, successively and rapidly became Egyptian staples, and all the skill which he could purchase was brought from the East and the West to improve the natives in their culture and preparation. His next step, as might be expected from such a speculative and aspiring man, was the introduction of manufactures. Buildings were erected, machinery imported from

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\* The London Journal of Commerce.

France, cotton-spinners procured from Malta, and silk-spinners from Italy; and so eagerly did he push on his undertaking, that even in 1829, he had 31,000 natives employed in his cotton-works alone, and 40,000 more men engaged in erecting new factories. The returns of his exports (for he is the state-merchant as well as the state-farmer) could not, it seems, be procured for some years past; but, if they could, they would doubtless exhibit the same feature, which is illustrative of the policy he has chosen, or been compelled to pursue, as the earlier returns, which are accessible, namely the exports, being more than double the imports. This would be far from a healthy state of things for a country like England; but the difference between the exports and imports constitutes the source from which Mehemet has derived the capital, without which his canals, his works for navigation, his factories, &c., could not have been accomplished. There may have been some questionable political economy in his proceedings, but no one can deny the energy and comprehensiveness of mind which dictated them.

Mr. Kinnear, too, in a pleasant and instructive volume\* just published, is satisfied of the general superiority of the government of the pacha over the old Turkish rule. That gentleman's sensible observations, though written with reference to Syria, are perfectly applicable, in their general tenor, to Egypt, and, as the result of the observations of one of the latest travellers in that quarter, are well worthy of record. Mr. Kinnear's opinions are expressed in this short summary.

It is worthy of remark, that many of the most important changes produced by the government of Mehemet Ali, have arisen from his indifference to the maintenance of the long dominant religion; and that, however his un-Mohammedan opinions and practice may have offended the more fanatical Mooslims, they have had considerable influence in relaxing the bigotry, and softening the prejudices of the great mass of the people. Franks are generally treated with civility, and the English are everywhere popular, and highly respected. The Syrians have a high opinion of our wisdom and upright dealing. "The word of an Englishman" is proverbial; and they believe that he can do many more wonderful things than making watches and penknives. It is curious that a very general belief prevails, both in Egypt and Syria, that the English will one day take possession of these countries; and I have been asked more than once by Christians, if I knew when the English were coming.

The establishment of missionary schools is likely, I think, to exercise an important influence on the future prospects of this country. The American schools, which have been in operation for some years at Beirout, appear to be admirably conducted; and the missionaries are men, not only of exemplary piety, but of extensive and varied acquirement. Their church service, in the Arabic language, is sometimes attended by not less than 150 adult natives. The instruction in the schools is altogether in the English language, and, besides the princi-

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\* Cairo, Petra, and Damascus, in 1839. Published by Murray.



ples of the Christian religion, comprises the usual branches of an English education—reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, &c. The acquisition of the English and French languages is becoming a very important qualification to young men intended for mercantile situations, or for the service of government, or of the European consulates; and although some may be influenced by higher motives, many will, I believe, send their children to these schools for the purpose of obtaining a European education. By such means we cannot fail to introduce, however slowly at first, such a knowledge of European history and European institutions, as may awaken the people from that self-satisfied ignorance which characterizes all oriental nations, and which forms one of the greatest obstacles to their advancement in civilization. Nor will this effect, it may be hoped, be unaccompanied by the saving as well as civilizing knowledge of the truths of the gospel.

By his toleration and protection of these schools, Mehemet Ali is doing more towards the civilization of Syria than he dreams of, or than can ever be accomplished under a more rigidly Mohammedan government. Under the Turks, not only will many of his political reforms be overturned, but this source of knowledge and civilization be stopped, and the country recede into the state of barbarism which characterized the reign of the Turkish pachas. Mohammedism once more dominant, will quickly deliver itself from the presence of whatever would dispel the darkness and ignorance which are necessary to its existence.

Mehemet Ali is too sagacious and far-sighted not to know, that, even were his government in Syria and Egypt recognized by Europe, his security in these possessions would be greatly increased by his remaining tributary to the Porte, as he would then enjoy all the advantages to be derived from the name and power of the Sultan. His object is to secure the hereditary government of these provinces, remaining nominally a vassal of the Porte, and continuing to pay the present tribute. So say his supporters; and it is said that the Sultan is inclined to accede to his terms.

The Porte, however, is too weak to act independently. The settlement of the question will depend on the decision of the European powers; and the sooner it is settled the better. It is the pacha's great military establishment; his continual apprehension that Syria may be wrested from his grasp; and his warlike preparations for such an emergency—that are exhausting the energies of the country.

How the recognition of the pacha's government in Syria might affect the balance of power in Europe, is a question which I have not considered, and on which I do not presume to offer an opinion. It is the interest which I feel in the prospects of the Syrian people, especially in the intelligent, active and industrious people of Mount Lebanon, which makes me wish that the present government may not be disturbed.

Observe, that I am not defending the government of Mehemet Ali, except in comparison with that of the Turkish pachas; under which all classes, but especially the Christians, were more oppressed than at present. Many of Mehemet Ali's measures have had a very salutary effect on the country, and the trade of Beirout has increased fourfold since 1833. I should have very confident hopes that the recognition



of his government would be followed by a gradual melioration in the condition of the people; that the natural productions of the country would be increased, and improved in quality; and that the trade might become an important one to England.

It must not be forgotten, that the government of Mehemet Ali is not to be replaced by a more enlightened and civilized system; it will only be exchanged for a similar despotism, if Syria be restored to the Turks. His government will only be superseded by that of another pacha, or, more probably, three pachas, as formerly, independent of each other, and all but independent of the supreme government.

All the old abuses will be revived; the *avania*, the bribery and extortion, the corrupt administration of the laws, and partial exaction of the public taxes from individuals. The old fanaticism will again be dominant. Wo to the Christian who presumes to ride on horseback in the streets of Damascus, or who is so unwise as to appear rich enough to have a horse at all! The Beiroutees must discard their white turbans, if they would keep their heads safe. Wo to the man who refuses to buy the Pacha of Acre's soap, or who dares to call the produce of his silkworms his own!—let him not be contumacious, but take the soap at three times its value, and sell his silk at half-price, lest, like our friend Saliba, the insolence of his tongue be visited on the soles of his feet.

With Mr. Kinnear, we have no wish to defend, on abstract principles of justice, the government of Mehemet Ali. Judged by a European standard, it has been, in many particulars, cruel, harsh, and most unjust. It is only defensible with reference to the government, or rather misgovernment that preceded it, and the circumstances by which he was surrounded. A successful general, and an ambitious man, he forced the pachalic of Egypt from the sultan, and has, for nearly thirty years, retained it against the inclinations of the Porte. But then he has given to that country what it most wanted—a strong government. His army may exceed the resources of the country, but he has sown the seeds of civilization through commerce. Much unnecessary sympathy for the condition of the fellahs is, in our opinion, thrown away. Whoever governed Egypt with a view to its regeneration, must have exercised despotic authority over this division of its inhabitants. Without force, the pacha could have formed no army; without an army, he was without power. And although cruelty and oppression are to be avoided, and are sinful, and ought not to be resorted to, even to produce beneficial results; it does not, therefore, follow that good never proceeds from cruelty and oppression. Besides, in countries where despotism is the rule, and not the exception, the oppression that would be intolerable in Europe, is endurable in Egypt. Again, as respects the severity of the conscription, his doubtful position of *quasi* independence and dependence rendered an immense army indispensable to him; and it may be doubted whether the cruelty of the conscription in Egypt was greater than the cruelty of the impressment in England, when considered relatively to the moral position, feelings, and opinions of the respective people. As *de facto* sovereign of

Egypt, Mehemet Ali had a rightful claim to the military services of his subjects; and in exercising that right, he adopted the process of the greatest military nation in Europe—a nation from which, unfortunately, owing to his early intimacy with M. Drovetti, the former consul-general of France in Egypt, he has drawn too largely the sources of Egyptian civilization. In France the conscription drew on a people fond of the dangers and glories of war; in Egypt, it drew on a cowardly and degraded race. The best excuse for Mehemet Ali, in this particular, is found in the circumstances by which he was surrounded. He was unable to procure an army voluntarily, he therefore compelled the services of his subjects; and if, for thus acting, he is to be condemned to everlasting infamy, it is an infamy he must share with many of the greatest military chieftains and sovereigns of ancient and modern times. With reference to this, and indeed to most of the other charges brought against the pacha, we strongly suspect they derive great additional force in the eyes of the world, from the illegitimacy of his title to power. Had Mehemet been the hereditary successor of a long line of Egyptian kings, he might have raised conscripts for his troops with all the ruthless cruelty now practised by the emperor of all the Russias, and with the same freedom from public reproach. With much better excuses, and higher ends than that barbarous monarch, his want of legitimacy has held him up to the scorn of Europe.

In page 44 of Mr. Kinnear's entertaining book, another palliation is made for the oppression of the government of Mehemet Ali. The government is oppressive, because oppression is practised by all classes of the people towards their inferiors.

The people, says that gentleman, may complain of the oppression of the government, but a vile spirit of tyranny, every man over his inferior, appears to pervade all classes. Servants are kicked and cuffed by their masters; laborers, by their employers; and donkey boys, by everybody. I have seen a tradesman bastinado his apprentice on the soles of his feet with a bamboo, in a way that made my flesh creep. The poor boy screamed most piteously, but the other lads in the shop continued their work quite unconcerned, and the people passing by scarcely turned their heads to see what was the matter. I am sorry to say that Englishmen are too ready to use the stick on very slight provocation; and I have been told, again and again, that there is no other way of managing an Arab, and that if I do not beat my servant now and then, he will soon be of no use to me. I have no faith in this, but believe that kind treatment will be returned by good service, here as elsewhere, and, at all events, I shall try the experiment. I often wish that the knaves would retaliate, and strike again like men; *but they are an abject, degraded race, and crouch like spaniels under the rod.*

Unfortunately the humane and just belief of Mr. Kinnear is not the belief of the Egyptian people, and in a land in which mutual beating is so common, it is surely too much to expect that the semi-barbarous government will not occasionally join in the general scourging. But here

again, the want of legitimacy bears down on Mehemet, and because his officers sometimes cane those under him, he is branded with opprobrious epithets without number; while in Russia, every officer, from the emperor himself down to the lowest sergeant of a regiment, strikes his subordinates without European interference in the matter: and in China, the bastinado is the punishment awarded to the highest officers of state. Besides, it must be remembered, that a blow is estimated differently in different countries: in Europe, the disgrace of being struck is intolerable; a blow is the cause of dishonor; in Eastern nations, a blow is estimated by the pain thereby produced, and not by its dishonor. When a Chinese commander-in-chief is bastinadoed before the army which he commands, he, as well as his troops, think only of the pain; when that has subsided, he again assumes his position at their head, neither he nor they being dishonored by the application of the rod.

We shall now proceed to make a few brief remarks on the natural resources and capabilities of Egypt.

The more attention is directed to Egypt, the more important and more interesting will its position appear; for the progress of events, and steam navigation, are rapidly making the Red Sea the high road to India. Egypt, placed as it is on the confines of Africa and Asia, yet so adjacent and accessible to Europe, itself a garden and a store-house, will become, by the necessity of things, one of the great bazaars of the old world. It must be a centre of influence, self-supported, or depending only on those great commercial relations which time will gather round it.

The present population of Egypt is estimated by the government at 3,200,000, but, as the pacha has a great moral object in stating the population at a high figure, there is little doubt that this estimate is much over-stated. The opinion of the best informed is, that the number of inhabitants is from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000. Of the Copts there may be from 150,000 to 200,000; of these there are about 6,000 who belong to the Romish church, under the care of a bishop, who is nominated by the pope. The number of Turks is between 18,000 and 20,000. There are about 3,000 Jews, somewhat under 2,000 Armenians, 7,000 Greeks, and 6,000 Catholic Franks. The remainder are Egyptians. So strong are the Mussulman prejudices to a census, that Mehemet Ali has hitherto wholly failed in his attempts to take one, although nothing could be more desirable for the better government of Egypt, than to ascertain approximately the number of its inhabitants. The whole taxation of the country, with all its irregularities, the system of conscription, with all its sufferings, are founded on the rudest guesses as to the numbers of the people. The productive powers of the human race in the valley of the Nile, are, no doubt, immense, and whenever there has been a short period of repose, the number of children born is surprising. In a very few years, were the country in a state of rest, the inhabitants would be doubled, so easily is life supported, and so constant is the demand for labor. The present disproportion of the sexes is incredibly great. Even the government returns state the proportion of women to men to be as 130 to 100. One of the causes of the exhaustion of the pacha's army is the preva-

lence of the nostalgia or home-ache. The number of men who pine to death, sinking under the influence of this unmedicable malady, is very considerable; long before they die, they fall into a listless and inactive state. "I cannot keep them alive," said a physician to Dr. Bowring, "when they begin to speak and talk of home." Although the mortality of Egypt is undoubtedly great, the most intelligent inhabitants are of opinion, that it is decidedly diminished of late years, owing to the establishment of medical schools. It is worthy of remark, that the Turkish race seldom perpetuates itself in Egypt; the children almost invariably die, and the Turkish population is kept up by importation.

The agricultural production of the country is in the hands of the Mohammedan fellahs. The Christian Copts exercise all the functions of scribes and accountants; the Turks are everywhere the paramount rulers; the Franks and Levantines, in their multitudinous varieties, traders and shopkeepers; and the negroes almost wholly engaged in domestic servitude.

The productive powers of the soil of Egypt are incalculable; wherever water is scattered, there springs up a rapid and beautiful vegetation. In two years an agreeable garden may be created in the neighborhood of Alexandria, which is the least promising part of Egypt. A perpetual struggle is, however, carried on between the desert and cultivation. In many parts of the Delta the desert has invaded and mastered the soil; in others, however, the desert has been vanquished by cultivation. In fact, were there hands to plough and water to irrigate, it is not easy to calculate what an immense tract of territory might be rescued from the waste. At present it is estimated there are about 3,500,000 feddans, or acres, fit for cultivation. In Egypt, one necessity in agriculture absorbs all others; for unless the inundations of the Nile irrigate the lands, in vain through immense districts is the seed sown—in vain the sun shines. It is generally thought, that the agricultural produce of Egypt has increased of late years. The richest district is that of Es Siout; such is the fertility of its soil, that it could, under proper management, produce a sufficiency of corn for the consumption of Egypt. The land in cultivation in the district is about 600,000 feddans. Wheat is the principal article grown.

The quantity of wheat produced in Egypt may be estimated at from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 of ardebs, or from 630,000 to 1,260,000 qrs. In abundant years the price is 25 piasters per ardeb; but it has been as high as 190 piasters. Notwithstanding the heavy expenses of cultivation, the returns on wheat-production for capital are not less, on an average, than from 10 to 20 per cent. per annum; it can be profitably produced at a cost of 16s. per quarter. In good seasons there is considerable exportation; the pacha in one year exported 1,000,000 ardebs. In 1837, '38, owing to the failure of the inundations of the Nile, grain was imported to a large extent.

In the distribution of agricultural productions, the government generally take the initiative, by determining what quantity of a particular article shall be cultivated in a given district, and at a price fixed before



the time of delivery. When the fellah is poor, the prices paid by government afford him but an indifferent living; but with a very small capital the prices will give from 15 to 20 per cent, on the outlay. In bad seasons the government furnish the seed. The lazy habits of the fellahs are so strong, that were there no despotic stimulants applied to them, they would only produce the articles necessary for their consumption. Whenever a greater liberty of action has been given to the cultivator, his produce has been less. The ordinary motive of the love of gain is not in the Egyptian laborer so strong as the unwillingness to labor. "My peasantry," said Mehemet, in answer to a remonstrance on this point, "are suffering from the disease of ignorance to their true interests, and I must act the part of a doctor. I must be severe when any thing goes wrong."

Of all the agricultural produce of Egypt, cotton is the most important, and it is an article whose introduction is wholly due to the enterprise of Mehemet Ali. The average growth of this article, as regards her relations with foreign countries, may be said to fluctuate from 100,000 to 150,000 bales per annum—the bale being about 2 cwt.; the price varying from 8 to 20 dollars per quintal. Unless for the despotic interference of the pacha, cotton would not be cultivated by the fellahs. The exactions and impositions practised by the collectors and agents of government would alone prevent its production. Besides, cotton produces only one crop annually, while many other fruits of the soil produce two or three. The average produce exceeds 2 cantars\* per feddan; but with an improved system of cultivation, five cantars might easily be obtained, at the cost of 200 piasters per cantar. The cultivator of cotton is not badly paid. The soil of Egypt is generally favorable to its cultivation; that in the neighborhood of the Nile, not subject to the inundations, is preferred. The fellah is obliged to deliver all his produce to the pacha, who pays him from 112 to 120 piasters for each 120 lbs., according to the quality; from this payment, however, is deducted his contribution to the miri, or land-tax.

Raw silk is an object to which some attention has been paid in Egypt, and is likely to become of great importance hereafter. In the district of Ouady Somula there are 3,000 feddans of mulberry-trees, and 7,000 in the other districts. The quantity of silk produced annually is about 7,000 okes; but the production is not equal to the internal demand. There is, however, no reason why Egypt, with its great capabilities, should not be an exporting country.

The sugar-cane has of late assumed considerable importance among the products of Egypt. At Rhoda, a little to the south of Manfalout, Ibrahim Pacha has 272 feddans occupied by the cane, under the management of a superintendent, from Jamaica, who augurs well of the undertaking. The produce of sugar is  $27\frac{1}{2}$  cantars per feddan; but with better machinery 30 cantars could readily be obtained. The net proceeds per feddan were, in 1837, £32 sterling. At Reyremon there is a sugar-refinery. Ibrahim has also manufactured some rum of a fair quality, and

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\* A cantar = 100 lbs.



there is little doubt the production will largely increase. He has also produced some tolerable wine; the white resembles Marsala; the red, the common wine of Spain.

At Rhoda, Ibrahim, who is the encourager of agriculture, as his father has been of manufactures, has also planted 200,000 olive-trees, which in a short time will yield considerable revenue. Mr. Kinnear heard the profit estimated at a dollar per ton of oil, or about £20,000 per annum. His highness' gardens at Rhoda are managed by two Scotchmen, Mr. Trail and Mr. McCulloch; and are very extensive and beautiful.

Indigo is cultivated to some extent; the quantity produced fluctuates much, the estimates varying from 15,000 to 80,000 okes. Armenians from the East Indies superintend the indigo works, all of which belong to the pacha. Opium, to a small extent, is likewise produced. In 1825, madder-cultivation was introduced, but sufficient is barely produced for the consumption of the country. One of the most extensively cultivated and most productive objects of the vegetable kingdom is the date-tree; it is spread all over Egypt, and administers to the comfort of the natives far more than any other product of the soil. Each tree produces yearly fruit alone of the average value of from 8s. to 16s. Revenue is collected on about two millions of date-trees.

To the pacha and his son Ibrahim, the horticulture of Egypt owes much; not only are their own extensive gardens watched over by intelligent and skilful botanists, but they have sent travelling gardeners to the East Indies, and other parts, in order to collect specimens of such vegetable productions as are likely to suit the Egyptian soil. The star-apple, the guava, teak, the papaw-tree, arnotta, the custard-apple, the India-rubber tree, turmeric, arrow-root, ginger, cedar-wood, fustic, benzoin, cajeput, yam, and the bamboo cane have all been acclimated during the last ten years. The coffee-plant has also been tried, but its ultimate naturalization is very doubtful.

Egypt breeds but few cattle; the parts of the country which are cultivated can be much more profitably employed than in growing herbage and corn for the purpose of feeding cattle; there is no pasturage except in those parts where the soil has ceased to be cultivated, and what herbage the desert affords. Horses and cattle are generally imported; the Bedouins, however, rear a few.

In Egypt saltpetre is made in abundance from the ruins of ancient towns, and salt from the inner parts of the mummies! After the nitre has been extracted from the ruins, they become saturated again, after a few years, and may be passed through the pans, depositing almost as much nitre as before. At Esh Mouneyen, out of the ruins of Hermopolis Magna, about 2,700 cantars of saltpetre are made per annum. The pacha has a large manufactory of gunpowder at Mekyal, in the island of Rhoda; it produces fifty cwt. per day.

We now come to the manufactures of Egypt. For nothing has Mehemet Ali been more severely censured, than for endeavoring to make Egypt a manufacturing country; and in no respect do we think more unjustly or unnecessarily. Had the semi-civilized pacha no other excuse

than that of having been desirous of rendering his country independent of foreign nations, or of having been fascinated by the prosperity which he elsewhere saw proceeding from manufactures, his justification would be ample. And even had his manufactures wholly failed, they must have been productive of great good; through them Europeans have settled in Egypt, and by their presence diffused civilization and toleration, and have led the pacha into a policy more agreeable to the principles of political economy. But, in fact, Mehemet Ali had no alternative but to commence his improvements with manufactures—the amount of the population of Egypt would not have allowed her to become an agricultural country. This fact is so exceedingly ably put, in a rising journal devoted to the material interests of this country, the *London Journal of Commerce*, that we shall quote the observations at some length.

Dr. Bowring conceives that all that Mehemet has done will die with him, and that Egypt will revert to her former state, as soon as the grasp which holds her in her present position is loosened. We doubt this, because Dr. Bowring gives no reason why it should be so—or rather, because the reason which he does give is falsified by himself. He says, that the pacha has warred against nature; that he ought to have made Egypt a granary, not a workshop; and, after a long enumeration of daily disasters, such as oxen shaking the machinery, the men wasting materials, clerks keeping bad accounts, etc., concludes, that “all these considerations show that the experiment is not a successful one.” Now, whatever Egypt might have been in the days of old, before the sands of the desert encroached upon her—leaving little more than the vale of the Nile good for profitable cultivation—to talk of her becoming the granary of Europe now is pure nonsense. The utmost extent of land cultivable is 3,500,000 acres, upon which are settled 2,500,000 inhabitants; and, therefore, the utmost surplus of corn they could raise would not elevate them into the character of corn-growers for the West, as the doctor would desire. Besides, Mehemet would have found an obstacle, greater even than the want of capital, in endeavoring to make those who were not *fellahs* (tillers of the soil) already become so. Tilling the soil is in Egypt a degradation of *caste* as strong as any that exists in India. Their very religion denies honor to the labors of the field, because they were thought unworthy of mention in the Koran. But, putting all philosophical disquisition aside, what must be thought of the doctor's conclusion, that the pacha's experiments have not been successful, when, ten pages further on, he gives us an official return of the pacha's profits for a year, amounting to £600,000! We are very far from being such admirers of the pacha's policy as to say, that, under ordinary circumstances, it would have been a wise one. Individual enterprise will always, unless under some serious disadvantage, accomplish more than any state monopoly; but the pacha's peculiar situation, as neither sovereign nor subject, would have crippled the enterprise of his people, (if they had any,) because, strong as is the tendency of capital to supply enterprise with the means of exerting itself, wherever there is a profitable field for doing so, it commonly avoids those places where its safety is rendered dubious by the ill-defined or uncertain tenure of

the power which is to protect it. "If means," says Mr. Thurburn, "could be devised for affording security to foreign capital, the pacha would, no doubt, find it ultimately to his own advantage to relinquish his system of monopoly." The means are obvious, and, notwithstanding the present "complications in the Levant," will no doubt be finally secured. Egypt, under the recognized hereditary rule of Mehemet Ali, would no longer require forcing as heretofore. Capital, satisfied of security, would naturally resort to her for profitable employment, and the more speedily, that Mehemet's past policy, however disputable on abstract principles, has at least prepared the ground, and cleared the way for its operations.

The pacha now possesses forty-four cotton-factories in Egypt; they are divided into three departments—each department has an inspector-general over it; and the whole are under the direction of the Council of Public Instruction. The three inspectors try who can produce calico the cheapest, with the least expense for repairs; this system of competition is very injurious; it has brought the machinery, which was not originally good—having been made either in France or from French models—into a very wretched state; and as long as it is continued, Mehemet will neither have factories nor machinery fit to compare with other nations. Besides the cotton factories for spinning, weaving, bleaching, dying and printing, the manufactures consist of linen, woollen, tarbouch, paper, type-foundry, printing, sugar, rum, salt, saltpetre, indigo, natron, penna, gunpowder, leather, mats, pottery, glass, flints, aqua vitæ, chemical works, oil, rice, flour, iron, copper, brass, muskets, small-arms and accoutrements.

The principal cotton factory is at Boulac, and is called Malta. In it there are 200 looms; cotton-thread is made as in the English factories; cotton cloth, cambric and muslin of the same length. Considerable quantities of the thread are exported to Trieste, Leghorn and the Turkish ports. There are also at Malta considerable establishments for bleaching, machine making, engraving, tin-plate working, plumbing and iron founding. It is at Malta that foreign labor is employed in all branches. There is also a cloth factory; but the wool of Egypt is not fit for fine cloths. In this neighborhood are two large establishments for spinning cotton.

The cotton-cloth is chiefly used in the countries under the pacha's rule; some merchants, however, export it to Asia and the Archipelago. Retail selling requires ready money; wholesale allows a term of three to six months. The average wages paid in the best factories, is a piaster a day, (twopence halfpenny,) while the price of field-labor is only twenty-five paras, or about three halfpence. There are always many candidates for employment, as they are protected from the conscription, and the laborers are allowed to provide for themselves from the government stores at the government price, which has been, of late years, considerably under the price of the markets. Carpenters, turners and blacksmiths are much better paid than spinners.

There can be little doubt that the revenues of Egypt, collected through the miri, the appaltos, and government trading, are far less

than would be received through the simpler and safer process of direct taxation. The pacha has, by capital and other facilities furnished by his government, practically demonstrated to the world, that Egypt is a fair field for remuneration and expenditure. Having done this, it is now alike for the interest of the treasury, the cultivator and the country, that more latitude should be given to the landholder and the peasant—that the contributions levied from the soil should assume more and more the character of direct taxation—that instead of payment in kind, at prices fixed by the government, an additional rent, in the shape of an increased land-tax, should be levied.

There is now an increased disposition to take lands, and to bring capital to their improvement; all that is wanting is a legal assurance that the system of interference with the particular province to be cultivated shall cease. The pacha has hitherto acted the part of a model capitalist; the results of his investments have invited the capitalists of Europe to engage in Egyptian cultivation and commerce; but to induce them to enter comprehensively and largely into that cultivation and commerce, there must be no vice-regal competition. Private enterprise, which is the beginning and end of national prosperity, will not compete with royal agriculturists, royal manufacturers and royal merchants, and, above all, with royal monopolists. If Egyptian production is to be extended, and Egyptian manufactures are to be made enduring and profitable—it must be by private enterprise. In no country will capital be invested where trade is not free and property secure. For that for which there was once a necessity in Egypt, there is now no longer a necessity. Restrictions, prohibitions and forced cultivation have done their duty in Egypt; and if, when the eastern question shall be arranged, and the pacha be, as he must, securely seated in Egypt, Mehemet Ali shall do his duty under the new state of things which he himself has created, then will the commerce of Egypt be once more known in the world—then will Egypt cease to be a “base kingdom,” and the curse that has so long afflicted it be removed, and it will be, in the prophetic language of Isaiah, “healed.”



## ARTICLE II.

"THE EASTERN QUESTION :"—THE POLICY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND RUSSIA,  
IN RELATION TO MEHEMET ALI AND THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WE here present our readers with the substance of an article in the London "Monthly Review" for December, 1840. It exhibits a more condensed view, than we have elsewhere seen, of the true policy of the great powers of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, and of the measures which have resulted, first, in the recent misunderstandings between England and France, and secondly, in the submission of Mehemet Ali to the conditions imposed by the allied powers. The article is a review of the following works published in London, 1840, with the titles of which it is preceded, viz.

1. *The Life of Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt.*

2. *Mehemet Ali, Lord Palmerston, Russia and France.* By William Cargill, Esq.

That portion of this review which relates to the life and dominions of Mehemet Ali, we omit, having presented them more in detail and with greater completeness in the preceding article from the "Colonial Magazine."

We may add that this review, as well as the publications above named, was written before the news of the successful result of the British expedition against the Viceroy of Egypt had reached England. The article, however, has lost none of its interest, on that account; and the points of policy and of conflicting interests, which it discloses, may be of importance to be understood in their bearings upon the future discussions and measures, which may be evolved in the progress of the great drama of European affairs.—Sa. Ed.

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From the Monthly Review.

THE former of the above publications contains a rapid sketch of the life of Mehemet Ali; a copy of the Quadruple Treaty of the 15th July, 1840; of the Official Note of Lord Palmerston to the French Government, dated 31st Aug.; and the Official Note of Monsieur Thiers, in reply to his Lordship's memorandum, dated 3d October. The small publication is merely a compilation of facts and documents that are of easy access, but yet such as, at this moment, briefly bring under the eye of the general reader such particulars as he must be desirous of finding in a combined shape, in order to enable him to comprehend the character and history of a most extraordinary man, and the grounds of that misunderstanding which has been for some months keeping, not only England and France, but the whole of Europe, in an unusual ferment and state of anxiety. The latter publica-



tion consists of an able and eloquent but severe and one-sided discussion, extremely unfavorable to Lord Palmerston, concerning the position of England, Turkey and Russia—Egypt and Turkey—negotiations of Alexandria, objects of Russia—treaty of July 15, 1840—rupture of the Anglo-French alliance—insurrection and convulsion in the Ottoman Empire—way prepared for the occupation of Constantinople by Russia—stipulation said by the author to be to that effect by four powers in Europe—and prospects of India. But as every week and almost every new day is witnessing changes and modifications in the cast of events and in the posture of affairs, it is rash to indulge, either in sweeping speculations and predictions, or to lend an acquiescent ear even to the most earnest and sagacious censor of our Minister, in whose hands are more immediately placed the control of the British interests involved by the narrative and discussion before us. We shall, therefore, only first of all alight on a few passages in the life of the ruler of Egypt, and secondly quote some of the passages from the other publication, bearing upon the policy pursued by England towards Turkey, Russia, France, &c.; for whether the precise views taken by Mr. Cargill of our Foreign Secretary's measures be just or not, we think that it is right for the nation to have its vigilance more fully awakened than it seems to have shown itself hitherto, respecting our relations with the great powers mentioned, and the prospects of our sway or influence throughout the mighty field, indicated by the outline given of the subjects embraced by his pamphlet.

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There can be no doubt that, unless France "will fight," Mehemet Ali can have no chance of success either in Egypt or Syria, whether his navy or army be concerned, against the four powers who are at this moment endeavoring to teach him, by means of a severe lesson, that he is a vassal of the Ottoman Porte. But whether after all England has done a wise thing in undertaking, in the way she has, to settle the dispute between the Sultan of Turkey and the Pacha of Egypt, is what many question and Mr. Cargill severely censures.

Our author's great alarm is of the machinations and the aggressions of Russia, and his grand charge is that Lord Palmerston has brought England to a point of subjection to Russia, which, unless speedily and effectually resisted, provided against, and opposite councils strenuously fulfilled, will reduce us to the condition of the Poles; carelessness, ignorance and vacillation being suggested as possible sources of our Foreign Secretary's bad measures, although a worse cause and wicked motives seem to be hinted at, as the prime source of misconduct; as if his Lordship were traitorously playing into the hands of the Czar.

Mr. Cargill's representation of the position and the machinations of Russia are sufficiently formidable and startling. A curious map illustrative of the aggrandizement of that power and of her progress towards India, together with an estimate of the population of the empire at different epochs, and of the extent of her possessions "according to the best authorities," are also calculated to excite suspicion and alarm, whenever she pretends to unite in friendly terms with us or any other power for the

general good and the preservation of the wonted balance. At the accession of Peter the First, the population of the Russian empire is said to have been fifteen millions of souls; it is now, as calculated by our author, *seventy* millions. "From a petty province, with no seaport but Archangel, a century has seen her stretch her dominion to Sweden and Riga on the north, and to Astracan and Georgia on the south and east—covering with blood and desolation the mightiest kingdoms, and the fairest provinces, for the purpose of augmenting her overgrown dominions. From the grasp of her robber hand no people is in safety, except those which have the strength to resist her." From this single short passage it may at once be inferred that Mr. Cargill is one of those politicians who deal in unmeasured, and probably injurious and provoking accusations against the Autocrat. He also appears to us to take our present government, and especially Lord Palmerston, to task in a manner which his knowledge of their policy and intentions cannot possibly entitle him to do; and we may add, which some of the most recent tidings from the East and from France demonstrate to be hasty and wrong. However, let us quote some paragraphs which describe the importance of Constantinople, and the ambition that eagerly contemplates its acquisition; or, in other words, the acquisition of Turkey to an already monstrously swollen empire:

The political, as well as religious code of Russia, is a ruthless and persecuting despotism, which enslaves and tramples on the people whom she conquers—turning the dogmas of religion into weapons for inflaming the rage of sects against each other, and using them as instruments for decomposing the states which she destines as her prey.

The commercial regulations of Russia are so restrictive as to be almost prohibitory to the export commerce of every nation—limiting her imports to those things only which are necessary for enabling her to compete with her rivals, and destroying the freedom of commerce in the states which she successively subdues.

This overgrown empire is, notwithstanding, the most vulnerable in the world, and the most easily arrested in its projects of aggression, because it has risen to greatness by assaulting and trampling on the rights of men. A single effort, directed with intelligence, by any of the great powers, would raise her provinces in revolt, and turn them on their oppressor. A single commercial regulation of England which should exclude the entry of her raw produce into her island, or an edict of the Sultan which should close the Bosphorus to the passage of her merchandise, would tumble Russia in pieces by the ruin of her resources, and the consequent convulsion of her empire. It is, therefore, a vital point for Russia, if she is to preserve the conquests she has made, that she should be disenthralled from this dependence on England and on Turkey:—BOTH THESE RESULTS WOULD BE OBTAINED BY THE POSSESSION OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the situation of Constantinople, as well as from the peculiar character of the Turkish people, the power that possesses the capital is master of the whole Turkish Empire. The attainment of such a position by Russia would at once render her commercially independent of England, because, in a safe and unapproachable possession of the Black Sea,

she would hold the key of the commerce of Europe and of Asia, to the annihilation of the maritime supremacy of England, while the power she would have of closing the *Dardanelles* would render Russia invulnerable to the attacks of every European power, thus excluded from connection with, and incapable of action on any one of those points which are now so exposed, and to her so dangerous. The addition to the Russian Empire of Turkey—locked by such a key as the *Dardanelles*—would render that power physically, as the intellectual superiority of her statesmen has long made her morally, irresistible. The acquisition of Turkey would make Russia too strong to be resisted by any nation of Europe; her empire would present a compact and solid mass from Riga to the Indus—their rights and commerce would be at her mercy;—her whole history teaches us how *merciful* she is to those that are in her power! Such a position would give her dominion of India the moment she chose to take possession;—of India, which it is the much-longed-for, and undisguised object of every man throughout her empire to obtain! The commerce of the world would then flow through her dominions, and the maritime supremacy of Great Britain become one of the things that were.

It is Turkey that prevents this; it is Turkey that preserves the balance of power in Europe, and the commercial supremacy of England; it is Russia which menaces it;—therefore, it is the interest of every European state to keep the Ottoman Empire strong, that its subjugation may not make a robber-nation irresistible; the very existence of the British Empire is involved in its preservation.

Russia, then, can only injure England by the possession of Turkey;—England can only protect herself by maintaining Turkey in its strength. Turkey can only defend herself from Russia by the support of England, and these two empires are therefore united in a friendly alliance, because they have a mutual interest, and there is imposed on them a mutual necessity, to resist the designs of Russia. Hence that phrase, so often on the lips, but so little in the understanding of Englishmen—"the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire must be maintained." Maintained against what?—Against the aggressive projects on its dominions, or the improper influence in its councils, of RUSSIA, for there is nothing else which menaces it, and it is this alone which gives Europe an interest in maintaining the independence of Turkey.

The attainment of an object, then, of such stupendous importance to Russia as the possession of Constantinople, becomes worthy of the whole effort—of the undivided energies of her government. The conception was worthy of the genius of Peter—the progress of its realization has absorbed the efforts of the ablest statesmen in the world for upwards of a century.

Mr. Cargill's examination of the foreign policy of England, as traced through a number of State documents and negotiations, and as said by him to be illustrated by overt acts and real demonstrations, guides him to this conclusion,—that our ministers have been in effect playing, in a variety of ways, into the hands of the Czar, as if anxious to second his views in

every possible way ; for example, by neglecting to do what ought to have been done, both as to method and time, respecting Mehemet Ali ; by falling into the snares set for us by the wily Autocrat ; by disturbing wholesome relations, and compromising ourselves with France. In short, every thing is represented to be wrong, and full of disastrous menacings and fatal consequences, which for years has been performed by Lord Palmerston, being either the result of bungling or contrivance. Let us hear in part what is said concerning the Treaty of the 15th of July, and observe the coloring which is bestowed upon the progress made to such a consummation ; a coloring which we opine would have been considerably modified had the turn which affairs both in the East and in France have very lately taken been foreseen by Mr. Cargill. He says :

To go into the reasons why France should take alarm at this treaty is, of course, superfluous to those who see such consequences as these to be involved in it. To suppose that France would yield her assent to a measure which she should see in the light that I put this treaty in, would be to suppose her statesmen either corrupt, or insane. France *does* see it in that light, and to decide whether she is right, or wrong, in her estimate of it, it is necessary to examine what grounds there are for judging that these consequences are likely to result from it. I will not dwell on the food for resentment afforded to France by the adoption, *to her exclusion*, of a measure to preserve the general peace, and maintain the equilibrium of Europe—a proceeding calculated to lower her as a Great European Power ; but I must remind the reader of the room for suspicion that was open to her, when she saw England suddenly thus ally herself with *Russia*, for the arrangement of a measure of guarantee against those very designs which it had been, up to that moment, the avowed object of the union of the two countries to counteract !

France, then, considers herself under the necessity of resisting the measure of the 15th of July on two grounds ; 1st, that, being engaged with the other Four Powers in an agreement which was “ensured” to see concord established between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, and also being bound in an alliance with England to guard against the designs of Russia in the East, England suddenly enters on a treaty with those Powers, without consulting France, to settle this dispute with Mehemet Ali—a question which, at the same time, was “essentially European ;” 2ndly, that the treaty thus entered on, and of which the contents are not withheld from her, is suspected by her to be impolitic in its stipulations, and dangerous in its proposed execution—calculated, in fact, to produce those evils which it is the interest, and which it has been the object of England and France to prevent. The latter of these grounds is the one which it is my purpose now to examine.

The object of the policy of England and France has always been to secure, as far as possible, the Ottoman Empire from any pretext being afforded to Russia for interference—that Power being, from its vicinity, the only one from which such danger had to be dreaded, and of which the history, since the reign of Peter, had consisted almost exclusively of the absorption, in her dominions, of independent states,



by means of interference. Mehemet Ali was governor of Egypt as a vassal, and had for many years been in occupation of Syria, which was entirely submitted to his authority. He had overcome the Sultan in a great many battles from the year 1832 to 1838, without any interposition of England to arrest his course, or succor the Sultan, but, on the contrary, was recognized by her in the light of a distinct Power, as seen by the negotiations we have traced. In 1833, England and France protest against an act of Russia (Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi), which was consequent on her interference in the dispute with the Pacha, because that act tended to give her too much prospective influence at Constantinople, by her assumption of "Protector" of the Sultan. In 1835, Russia endeavored to obtain the exclusive right of "protection" at Constantinople, against the danger from Mehemet Ali, but this was resisted, chiefly through the instrumentality of Austria. In 1837 and 1838, the strange negotiations of Lord Palmerston with the Pacha took place, which confer fresh strength on him, and tend to make him go on accumulating his means of defence in Egypt, so as to compel him by his "uncertain position" to draw resources from Syria. This induces the conflict at Nezib, in 1839, and loss of the Sultan's army and fleet, which occasions (or seems to occasion) in Lord Palmerston and France, the dread that Ibrahim would march on Constantinople, and thus incur the hazard of bringing thither the Russian troops again. On this, Lord Palmerston proposes to France, that an Anglo-French fleet should proceed, by force, if necessary, through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, in the event of this danger from the Pacha's army giving rise to that contingency. France, in the hope of arranging every thing without disturbing the harmony of the other Powers, proposed that this should be communicated to Austria, and then also "to associate Prussia, and Russia herself, in all the resolutions relative to the Turko-Egyptian question!" As might be expected, Russia refused to join in any propositions of the kind, and the Emperor officially communicated to the French Government, "that he in no way despaired of the safety of the Porte, provided that the Powers of Europe did but leave it in repose, and not, by their untimely agitation, compromise its tranquillity in their desire to secure it.

Notwithstanding this, in September, 1839, Russia sent M. de Brunow to London to make proposals, and demanded that in case of hostilities, she should be allowed to cover *Constantinople with her Armies* (!) and the Anglo-French fleet should blockade Syria. This proposition not being accepted, M. de Brunow retired, but returned in January, 1840, with fresh proposals differing very slightly from the first. The proposal is rejected by France, who, fearing the probable resistance of Mehemet Ali to coercion in Syria, is unwilling to risk the occupation of Constantinople by Russia, which would be the consequence of it. Lord Palmerston makes another proposal to France—a slight modification of the previous one,—but France, not desiring to make their interference lead to the necessity of coercion in Egypt and consequent disturbance of the peace, and still expose Constantinople to Russian protection, wishes first to ascertain whether the Pacha will resist, and sends out an envoy to endeavor to make him accede to the proposed terms. Thus France pursues the sound and able policy, of not consenting to let herself be



brought into a position, to necessitate the infringement of the law of nations, on the one hand, (which interference by force of arms, in disputes between sovereigns and their subjects, most undeniably constitutes,) or to give rise to the pretext for a Russian occupation of Constantinople, on the other. But, in the mean time, Lord Palmerston suddenly announces to the French Ambassador, that he has concluded a treaty with the other Powers—from which *France is excluded!* As to entering on the merits of the lines of demarcation between the Sultan and Mehemet, it would be to perplex the mind by a displacement of the question. The rupture of a ten years' alliance with France is PRODUCED—with what object?

He proceeds to examine the benefits of the treaty, and urgently calls upon the people of England and France to resist it. We shall not follow him, but quote the introduction to some concluding reflections which he finds our Foreign Secretary's conduct calculated to justify, wherever it is to be tested, be it in regard to the American Boundary Question, the Russian intrigues in Central Asia, the negotiations relating to the choice of a new Monarch in Persia, or the considerations which present themselves in respect to the adhesion of Prussia and Austria to the treaty of the 15th of July :

If the conclusions which I have formed, on the serious tendency of the treaty of the 15th July be correct, and it be, in reality, a measure designed by Russia, or capable of being used by her, for entrenching herself, either immediately or prospectively, at Constantinople, it will excite the surprise of those who see it in that light, that the Cabinets of Prussia and Austria, but most of all, that a minister of England, should lend himself to an instrument so dangerous. How is it, it will be asked, that British Ministers should voluntarily bring the Russians to Constantinople, which is the key of India, and stipulate for closing the Dardanelles, which is the access to it,—that is to say, that England delivers up the key of the East, and guarantees possession, to that Power whose designs she sends expensive armaments to keep in check, in a region which she thus cuts herself off from? How is it that Prussia and Austria should voluntarily contribute to confer on Russia, a position which makes her dominant in Europe? Must we consider that these nations are not alarmed at the designs of Russia, or, conceiving that England has so great an interest in preventing such a contingency as the acquisition of Turkey by Russia, do they conclude they are safe in entering on any arrangement to which Great Britain may be a party? In such case the blame would rest on the British minister. Is it carelessness, ignorance, or want of promptitude and decision in him, that would expose his country to such a danger? To suppose Lord Palmerston to be *unacquainted* with the things that relate to this department of the Government, is not to be entertained for a moment; those who look on his policy unfavorably most commonly attribute its unsuccessful results to inaction, or want of decision and boldness. I conceive it to be of importance, for forming a correct estimate of the present position of affairs, to be able to come to a satisfactory conclusion on this point. It does not, to me, seem that the conduct of Lord Palmerston will bear this construction. On examin-

ing the prominent parts of his Lordship's political transactions, we find much vacillation and neglect, and also we find instances of quick decision and promptitude of action.

We observe that the conclusion of Mr. Cargill's pamphlet, which contains so many strong opinions and denunciations, and is so full of positive predictions, bears date, October 20th, 1840.

#### SUBMISSION OF MEHEMET ALI TO THE TERMS IMPOSED BY THE ALLIED POWERS.

Since the date of the Review from which we have selected the preceding article, the news has reached us of a Convention between Commodore Napier, commanding the naval forces of Her Britannic Majesty before Alexandria, on the one side, and His Excellency Boghos Youssouf Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, authorized specially by his Highness, on the other; done and signed at Alexandria, dated November 27; by which the Commodore pledged the allied powers to reinstate his Highness in the hereditary government of Egypt, and Mehemet Ali agreed immediately to order his son Ibrahim Pacha to withdraw his army (said to be 30,000) from Syria. The terms of this Convention, it appears from more recent intelligence, on being communicated to the Admiral of the British fleet, were rejected by him, on the ground that Commodore Napier had exceeded his instructions. The Admiral, however, immediately proposed similar terms, in all respects, excepting, perhaps, the guaranty of perpetuity to the government of Mehemet in Egypt. The following is his communication to his Highness, Mehemet Ali, as contained in the London Times.

Princess Charlotte, off Cyprus, Dec. 6.

Highness,—I have now the honor to transmit to your Highness, by Captain Fanshawe, the Captain of my flag-ship, the *official* authority from the British government, in the name of the four powers, to maintain your Highness in the Pachalic of Egypt, upon the conditions, that, within three days after the communication to you, by Captain Fanshawe, you agree to restore the Turkish fleet to the Sultan, and finally to evacuate Syria.

Let me beseech your Highness to take these terms into your serious consideration; and I implore Almighty God to impress upon your mind, the benefit you will bestow upon a distracted country, by an early compliance with the decision of the four allied powers.

Captain Fanshawe is fully authorized to receive your Highness' final decision.

I have the honor to be your Highness' most obedient, humble servant,  
ROBERT STOPFORD, *Admiral*.

To this demand, Mehemet promptly signified, in a respectful reply to Admiral Stopford, his ready submission. The great eastern question is thus ostensibly settled, for the present; and this first result of the British expedition to Egypt is quite contrary to the fears of Mr. Cargill, whatever causes may yet remain hereafter to disturb the peace of Europe in respect to the positions of Russia and the Ottoman Empire.  
—SR. ED.

## ARTICLE III.

## RANKE'S HISTORY OF THE POPES OF ROME.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE Translation of this work, by Mrs. Austin, which has been lately published in England, has been received with an interest almost unparalleled. Able reviews of it have appeared in several of the English Quarterly and Monthly periodicals. By all of them, it is commended as a work of surpassing value, on perhaps the most important portion of the history of man. Its title falls far short of indicating its object or the scope of its contents. It is not a history of the Popes alone, but of the influence of the Romish church, first, in extending the bounds of nominal Christendom, and then, in dividing it, by a reflex action, into the separate monarchies of Europe. It is a history of the revolutions and influences of the Papacy. The topic is one of the utmost importance to the civilized world. The Romish church possesses a power, both ecclesiastical and temporal, which none can regard with indifference;—a power which is even now exerted, with more or less strength, in all countries. Its history presents a subject no less interesting to us than to the nations of Europe. It is, therefore, with more than ordinary pleasure that we have endeavored, in the following article, to bring before American readers, the substance of the best English reviews of Mr. Ranke's work. These reviews, while they agree in respect to the scope of the book, present different views and reasonings on several of the points on which it treats. We have therefore transferred to our pages, entire, only that which presents the best analysis of the work, and have added, from other reviews, such passages as contain different views of the subject, which are of special importance.—SR. ED.

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From the London Eclectic Review.

*The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By LEOPOLD RANKE, PROFESSOR in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by SARAH AUSTIN. 3 vols. London: Murray, 1840.

THIS highly important and interesting book undertakes to develop the changing fortunes of the Papacy during two critical centuries, the sixteenth and seventeenth. It opens with a rapid sketch of the rise and establishment of the papal power, in the first fifteen centuries; and it terminates with a brief outline of its history down to the present day. We have no work in our language expressly devoted to the same task, nor

have our historians had access to a large number of important manuscripts, which were submitted to the inspection of Professor Ranke, in Berlin, Vienna, Venice, and in the great libraries (but *not* the papal library) at Rome. It would indeed be requisite to toil through many separate histories of the different countries of Europe, in order to collect and continue the outward history of European religion, as it is here presented to us. Nor is it the lowest recommendation of Ranke's work, that its reputation for learning and impartiality has seemed to make it worth while to execute a perverted French translation of it, in favor of the Romish side; an unfairness which the author feels painfully. The English version, by Mrs. Sarah Austin, has been perused and approved by him. "An English lady," says he, "must redress the wrong which has been done to me in France."

Most of us are better acquainted with the early history of the Reformation in Germany, than with its after progress; and when we consider that the human mind in Europe cannot have gone back since the sixteenth century, and how much harder it seems to take the first step as a reformer, than to follow in the track of others, it is a natural subject of wonder to many that the Reformation stopped where it did. This book explains the causes of it; which are not indeed by any means profound and hidden, contrary as the fact is to what we might have expected. It is indeed a tale which makes the heart bleed; bitter, bitter instruction. Our forefathers have eaten the sour grape, to gain for us palatable and wholesome food. How plainly does the whole history set forth, that the love of power will shrink at no cruelties, and will never want religious justifications; and that there is no cure for these atrocities, but by yielding to every man the full, entire liberty of conscience, which we ask for ourselves. Yes, to *every* man; we repeat it; we must not except those who *seem to us* blasphemers, atheists, or whatever is worse. Constitute the civil power a judge of blasphemy, and the measures of the Inquisition become justifiable.

We cannot pretend to criticise in detail the professor's work; its established reputation justifies us in assuming its accuracy, on all the points upon which we have no means of better information; and we think our readers will not be displeased, if we lay before them some outline of the history, guided, for the most part, by his materials.

In the early world each nation had a partial civilization of its own, purely national and isolated, and bound up with certain national religions, the fruit of particular localities. Hence, to cast off one's religion, was in those ages to cast off one's country, to act the traitor to the state. As in Judaism, idolatry was treason against Jehovah, and punishable with death, so in every state of antiquity, to leave the national religion was a treasonable act. To subvert the national creed, was to subvert the state; to question it, was to sap the foundations of patriotism. Thus *persecution of apostates* was the universally received system in all known nations, approved alike by the statesman, the moralist and the priest.

The enlightened policy of the Roman government at first went a great way to break down this. To mould into one so many states, they care-



fully protected the religious rites of each, when not cruel and horrible to nature. But when special superstitions were transported beyond their own limits, and ceremonies the most discordant were celebrated, side by side, in the same metropolis, they destroyed each other's credit; and general unbelief became widely diffused. On the blending of so many nations into one empire, the old separate religions were no longer in appearance useful; they were a wall of separation, not a wall of strength. In this "fulness of times" Christianity was preached, as an extra-political religion; separating the things of Cæsar from the things of God, which had never before been done. The church and state were now no longer one. The personal responsibility of each separate conscience to God was proclaimed, and religion was made a right and a duty of the individual. Such was the great revolution in thought, introduced by the preaching of the apostles.

Meanwhile, Rome had been setting up a new universal religion that should bind together all their subjects, in the worship of the emperor's own image.\* The obstinate resistance of the Christians to all such practices was treated as a seditious principle, and was punished more and more cruelly, in the vain hope of crushing it. At last, as we know, the Christian cause triumphed somehow; paganism was nearly suppressed within the empire, when the invaders from the north overturned the whole fabric of society. The church had previously been rent in twain by factions, and, miserably deprived by fanatical asceticism, she now had to struggle for her existence. One nation alone of the barbarians in the fifth century embraced the doctrine of Rome, namely, the rising German confederation, called Franks; all others were pagans or Arians. In these times, national bonds hardly existed; but sectarian agreement stood in the place of patriotic union. Accordingly Clovis, the Frank, gained great military advantage from his new profession, and was named the eldest son of the church. From this time forward, the Frankish monarchs stood forth as the great patrons of Romish Christianity. Charles Martel, in the tremendous battle near Tours, saved all Europe from the Mohammedan yoke; Pepin his son, and Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, first bestowed on the pope a temporal sovereignty in Italy. The history of the popedom, in a political aspect, may be dated from the era when Charlemagne was crowned in Rome, A. D. 800.

But the Carlovingian line presently lost its energy, and its power passed over to the Germans. In the tenth century, Otho the Great invaded Italy, occupied Rome, deposed the pope, and took into his own hands the nomination to the pontifical office. This did but crown all that had been previously habitual to the German princes, who in each newly-conquered province appointed bishops instead of barons or dukes, merely as a more efficient means of governing and civilizing them. Various minor efforts were made by the papacy, to escape this bondage; but the energy

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\* To this, in the opinion of many enlightened commentators, the Apocalypse alludes, under the title of "*worshipping the beast and his image.*"

of the German emperors unflinchingly upheld that essential prerogative of their crown, the right of ecclesiastical appointments. At length, the minority of Henry IV. offered a tempting opportunity to the daring and haughty pope, Gregory VII., the celebrated Hildebrand. He commenced the much-famed struggle for *investitures*, which convulsed the whole empire, and indeed all Christendom. His strength lay with the aristocracy of Germany, whose pretensions he in part favored, yet it was not for him to achieve the triumph he sought. Many years of blood were needed, ere the popes finally effected their emancipation, and established the principle that the clergy of the West must look to the supposed successor of St. Peter as their earthly head. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the monarchs were enfeebled, and the pope at the height of power over the whole continent. Only in England did our first Norman kings steadily maintain their prerogative against his encroachments. The rising crusades knit all Christendom together, and made it conscious of its common faith; an event of vast importance for the consolidation of the pope's dominion. Soon after, our cruel and contemptible king John received England from him as a fief, for which he was to pay homage; Arragon was transferred to him by its king; Naples was given over into his hands. It was an age of enthusiasm, and must (in the eyes of devout Romanists) appear the most glorious period which history has recorded. So stood matters in the thirteenth century.

The decided ascendancy of the Roman ecclesiastical power, during the two centuries of the crusades, has had vast influence on Europe. It has impressed upon us those common features which make *Christendom* different from the rest of the world. Happening at the time when Spain was being reconquered from the Moors, and when Christianity was pressing to her farthest limits over Prussia and Poland, it united almost all Europe into a single system. Russia was as yet unthought of, unknown and thoroughly barbarous. Whether we have paid too high a price for "Europeanism," is a separate question; but that it has been principally produced by the papacy, must be admitted.

But in the fourteenth century, the internal stability of governments had lasted long enough to produce fixed national languages, and with them a sense of national existence. So long as Latin had been the sole cultivated tongue, the ecclesiastical element predominated in all literature, and the priesthood had a practical monopoly of the higher posts of legislature and administration. The rise of English poetry, the use of English in our courts of law, the assembling of English parliaments, are but symptomatic of the change simultaneously working over all Europe; viz. *the development of nationality*. An immediate result was, a jealousy of foreign influence, and determined opposition to the papal claims. All readers of English history know with how much spirit our parliaments under Edward III. checked the encroachments of Rome; but all may not be aware that it was a truly European phenomenon. The French nation was the first to resist Boniface VIII.; the German electors were next; England was third in awakening to her rights. A schism in the papacy itself followed, which, by reason of the obstinacy of the anti-popes, the ecclesiastical power

could not terminate. Then came the celebrated council of Constance, by which the pope was deposed, and important restrictions imposed on the new pontiff; an event, which accustomed men to the thought, that he was not, after all, infallible. The secular authority now seemed to be the real arbiter of spiritual questions.

Thenceforward proceeded the steady *aggrandizement of monarchy* and centralization in Europe; until, at the end of the fifteenth century, the barons were generally subjected to the crown, and the pope was looked on politically rather than spiritually. It would have been inconvenient to a European prince to be at enmity with him, because it was hard to calculate how the clergy might behave if the quarrel were personal, not national; but the jealousy, which, in the preceding age, was felt by the nation, was now concentrated in the bosom of the monarch. The outward decorum paid to the pope might have seemed to indicate that his power was as absolute as ever; but time had wrought a silent revolution; and it was quite certain that the national churches must in any case have emancipated themselves from his intrusion, whenever it passed beyond the limit at which it was felt to be beneficial. The sovereigns had clearly learned, that temporal affairs were not within the province of priests, and universally declined to obey the pope farther than they found it convenient.

But so eminently was this the era of monarchical growth, that the popes themselves were infected with the example, and in the last half of the fifteenth century were busy about nothing so much as to found an Italian empire. Greek literature had been recently imported into Italy by the learned men who fled from Constantinople when it fell into the hands of the Ottomans; the rage for classical Latin was already at its height, and cardinals were projecting it as a valuable work to rewrite the old papal bulls into a Ciceronian idiom. The learned Italians sympathized so intensely with the ancients, and despised so thoroughly the impostures passed off as religion, that infidelity was widely spread; and the pope found no check in public opinion against his assuming the air of a mere secular prince. So little restraint did the clerical profession place on any of them, that it excited not a whisper of disapproval that these men, who were too holy to marry, had avowed sons and grandsons. The son of Innocent VIII. was married to the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, "the magnificent;" the son of Alexander VI. was a monster whom we must more particularly notice; the grandsons of Paul III. broke his heart by rebellion. When such things were too common to excite reproof or wonder, the affairs of the church were likely to be administered with barefaced secularity. Ecclesiastical offices were conferred for any or every reason rather than the spiritual fitness of the receiver; direct payment of money for them was far from uncommon; the purchaser was of course greedy to indemnify himself by every extortion; children were made bishops and cardinals; the pope's sons or nephews\* were always first to be provided for, and (when it was to be had) a dukedom was still better than a bishopric. Sixtus IV. (1471—1484) conceived the plan of founding a principal-

\* Hence the term *nepotism*

ity for his nephew Girolamo in the rich and beautiful plains of Romagna; but the Medici of Florence were in his way. Most opportunely, a conspiracy was formed by a Florentine family, the Pazzi, to assassinate both brothers on the steps of the cathedral altar. Guliano de Medici was killed, but Lorenzo escaped. The father of the faithful, careless that all the world believed him an accomplice in the murder, proceeded to excommunicate Lorenzo, and laid an interdict on the whole territory of Florence. Hostilities followed, in which the pope induced the Venetians to join him; but when he found it convenient to make peace, he excommunicated all Venice, because they persisted in the war. In Rome he acted the usual policy of despots against an aristocracy, ferociously and treacherously murdering the noble Colonnas, the political opponents of Girolamo. His successor, Innocent VIII., gave but a short respite to Italy; for in 1492 the ambitious sensualist, Alexander VI., began his impudent career. He and his son, Cæsar Borgia, having conquered their opponents by help of the Orsini family, and others of the Guelf faction, entrapped their own supporters with long-calculated falsehood, and put them to death in cold blood. But Cæsar tyrannized over his father too. He murdered his brother, and threw his body into the Tiber, because the father was fond of him. For the same offence he hired assassins to stab his brother-in-law on the palace steps; but the wounds not being mortal, Cæsar himself burst into the chamber, where his sister was nursing her sick husband, and had the unfortunate prince strangled before his eyes. Alexander had another favorite, named Peroto; whom Cæsar remorselessly stabbed to death, while clinging to the pope's side for protection, and hiding under his mantle. The blood gushing out sprinkled the pope's face. But he was too deeply drenched in innocent blood himself to have any redress, and Cæsar remained pre-eminent in Italy while his father lived. To signalize the end of such a reign, the pope died by eating a poisoned dish, which he had intended for one of the cardinals.

One more scandal, different in kind, was yet to be added. Pope Julius II. labored to extend the papal dominion in Italy for the benefit of the papacy itself, not for the aggrandizement of his own family; and, bold in his comparative innocence, appeared himself at the head of his troops as their general. At the storming of Mirandola, the aged pontiff marched through the breach over the frozen ditches. By his military talents and indefatigable exertions, he reduced the fairest part of Italy under his power; and, as Macchiavelli observed, "caused even a king of France to stand in awe of it."

Such was the state of things when the sixteenth century dawned upon Europe, destined to open a new conflict, and work changes wholly unsuspected. The time of the struggle divides itself into four principal eras. The *first* begins with Luther's preaching in 1517, and ends with the decisions of the council of Trent, in 1562. This is the springtide of the Reformation, in which it overwhelmed Germany, Hungary and Transylvania; prevailed very decisively in Scotland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Holland, Poland; in England and Switzerland gained the upper hand; was very vigorous in France, highly promising in Italy,



and far from hopeless in Spain. The *second* era marks a time of powerful reaction, commencing from the southern peninsulas. In these, Protestantism was thoroughly extinguished; while a large part of Germany, Hungary, Savoy, and most of Switzerland was recovered to Rome. In France, the Huguenots were repressed; in England, the Reformation stood its ground with difficulty; in Holland it triumphed over fearful odds, after a tremendous conflict. This era lasts from 1562 to 1588, when the Spanish armada was destroyed in attempting to invade England. A *third* era is to be computed from the resuscitation of jealousy against Spain, the rise of odium against the Jesuits, and of national feeling in the Gallican church. A *fourth*, less distinctly marked off from the third, may be dated from the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, 1617. This is the last grand effort of Romanism, to win kingdoms by war; and it was foiled by the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swede. Since that time, the decay of Spain and the aggrandizement of France, under Louis XIV., thoroughly changed the policy of Europe; making the balance of power seem more important than Catholic interests. Our author does not pursue the history with any minuteness through the seventeenth century.

We intend to state, somewhat more in detail, the events which, under each of these four eras, contributed chiefly to the grand result.

I. It has been seen how, in the opening of the sixteenth century, all Europe seemed ripe for separation into national churches. The monarchs secretly longed for a result which alone was wanting to the consolidation of their despotic power; no small part of their enmity to the reforming preachers was that these appealed to the people, not to their rulers. But for some time, the tendency of the Reformation towards democracy was not suspected; more particularly, because Luther understood far better than his coadjutors and their followers, the separation of civil and ecclesiastical power. This great man leaned probably towards high monarchical sentiments in politics, while upholding freedom of conscience in religious matters; and to the sharp separation which he drew between the two spheres, it is doubtless to be ascribed, that he has the honorable distinction of having always opposed religious persecution, under whatever name or pretence. So far were the German princes at first from discouraging rebellion against the pope, that the emperor Maximilian specially recommended Luther to the elector of Saxony, saying that "he might be of use to them some time or other." Nor were the Italian statesmen slow to impute to the emperor Charles, that he fostered Luther in order to have a check upon the pope. Indeed, Germany was suffering more than other countries from papal exactions; for grievances there remained unabated, which the energy of our first and third Edwards had stopped in England. The higher clergy were often Italians, and the whole order was exempt from taxes, and from the ordinary civil tribunals; meanwhile their courts had contrived to draw into themselves a vast proportion of causes. So well prepared were men's minds, by all these excesses, that the Reformation poured over Germany, as it were of itself, with immense rapidity. No regulated societies, like the Jesuits, no orders of preachers under central superintendence were needed to propagate it. The *negative* doctrine,

disbelief in the pope and in all the paraphernalia of popery, spread far and wide beyond the limit reached by the preaching of the *positive* doctrines of the reformers. The universities also became Protestant, and no defenders of Romanism were reared. The monks and priests, who clung to the old church, were generally the most ignorant, and quite behind their age; nearly all the erudition, as well as the earnestness of enthusiasm, lay with the reformers. The same general description will apply, but with rather less force, to the Reformation in England, so far as it was not an event of court policy. In neither country was there, at this early stage, any attempt made to alter the hierarchical features of the church, or to lessen the temporal power. Nay, the grand reproach of the Lutheran church, as of the Anglican, has been on the opposite side: each has been too supple and cringing towards the civil authorities.

The case was altered when Calvin came upon the stage of Europe. This celebrated man published his *Institutes* in the year 1534, when only 25 years of age; a work which immediately found immense circulation, and exercised great influence. It was the first which endeavored to exhibit an entire syllabus of the doctrines of the reformers, and gained great attention for the author. In 1541 he was invited to Geneva, to carry into effect that reform in their church which he had before proposed; a task which he executed with promptitude and strictness. The closest union here was kept up between church and state; church discipline was inflicted under the sanction of public authority. He labored incessantly, and with vast effect, to make Geneva the mother church of Protestantism, a pattern of government and of doctrine for all to follow. Not only was this rule secretly felt to be oppressive by many who dared not resist; he gave warning of tyranny by a terrible act of cruelty against a brother reformer, who went beyond him in innovation. Servetus was but passing through the country, with no intention to reside in it, yet Calvin intercepted, and burned him alive, for Arianism. From the same school came Knox, the disciple and intimate friend of Calvin, and hundreds beside, who spread the puritanical views in Britain: the Protestantism of southern France was wholly Calvinistic. Great as is the debt of the Reformation to Calvin and the Puritans, we know not whether their good has not been outweighed by their evil; for while professing to exhibit the reformed doctrines in fuller development than the Lutherans, they merged the state in the church as entirely as papists could have done. They held a priestly, or (what is now called) a theocratic government. Orthodoxy gave them a right to demand, that the civil authority should perpetrate their edicts of persecution. This is the spirit which marred the prospects of the British churches in the seventeenth century; and how intense it was, we may judge, when the mild Baxter could declare that toleration was a most dangerous device of the devil.

It cannot be doubted that the sovereigns were made thoughtful at an early period, by the democratic tendency of institutions which vested the government of churches in the body of Christians. Early popular commotions in Germany must have forced this on their attention. The emperor Charles was moved through almost his whole life, by mere reasons

of temporary policy. In the opening of his reign, he apprehended war with Francis I. of France; hence he tried to gain over the pope, by pretending to call Luther to account. Afterwards, when war had broken out between him and Clement VII., it is not wonderful that an emperor, who could keep the pope prisoner, and order prayers to be publicly offered for his deliverance, should connive at the spread of the reformed principles. But when Charles found his reputation in all Europe to be endangered by his hypocritical profaneness, and it seemed to be his interest to conciliate the pope, then he assumed a show of orthodoxy, and declared his determination to suppress the new opinions. His haughty behavior towards independent princes (for such the German electors were), led to the celebrated league of Smalkalde, in which those princes guaranteed to defend their honor, station and liberty of conscience, against his unconstitutional and unjust encroachments. *But this was the crisis which decided the house of Austria forever after to become the inveterate foes of Protestantism.* The league proved so powerful as to frighten and humble the emperor; who could then be satisfied with nothing but to trample out every spark of the religion, which had originated this formidable union.

The king of France was the creature of impulse, as were so many monarchs of that line. He did the greatest service to the Reformation, by making Geneva a free city, in his spite against the duke of Savoy; nor did he take part against the reformers, except when ill-tempered, or low-spirited, or when he thought his honor to be insulted by them. He was, by bursts, an inhuman persecutor; yet he first assisted the league of Smalkalde, and afterwards became a public ally of Maurice of Saxony, then the champion of the Protestants; and thus was instrumental to the treaty of Passau, 1552, the Magna Charta of German Protestantism. Nevertheless, the Reformation, as it developed itself, armed the French monarchy against it. As it spread over the provinces of the south, it afforded a new principle for the basis of liberty, and it was joined speedily by malcontent nobles. In fact, in France the Huguenot body soon made pretensions equivalent to a partition of the monarchy, and the contest was purely a civil one. As for orthodoxy, the French court seems never to have cared many straws about it.

How matters stood in England we know very well. The king determined to be pope himself, as resolutely as did queen Elizabeth afterwards; yet, as he acted by impulses and not steadily, the reformed doctrine went on and won its way, though not so fast as in Germany.

Meanwhile, the popes were in a most embarrassing position. As Italian princes, they desired a balance of power to be maintained between their puissant neighbors; and were necessarily terrified by the vast extent of dominion under the emperor Charles. By a chain of royal marriages, this young monarch inherited the thrones of Spain, Burgundy, the Netherlands, Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily; besides unknown and extending empires in the New World. He had been elected emperor of Germany, a post of ill-defined power, but great dignity, and he had obtained for his

brother Ferdinand the title of king of the Romans (or second in the empire), with the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Not satisfied with all this, he was ever busied to add Milan to his possessions. How could the pope help trembling for his Italian principalities? It was a crisis for all Italy, which felt that it was being swallowed up by Spain; and in the year 1526 they made a great effort for national emancipation. All was in vain. The Germans poured over the Alps,—all Protestants,—headed by George Frundsberg, who threatened “to hang the pope in Rome.” His illness gave over the command to the constable Bourbon, a deserter from France, who unscrupulously marched to plunder the metropolis of Christendom. He was slain while scaling the wall; but his troops captured the city, and pillaged it with ruthless and wanton atrocity. They blockaded the pope in his castle of St. Angelo, nor would the emperor release him without ransom. We cannot wonder, that after this, the court of Rome was never reconciled to this bad, ambitious man, and rejoiced yet more in his humiliation, than in a triumph over the Protestants. In consequence, this same pope, Clement VII., negotiated a secret treaty with the king of France, for the support of the German Protestant princes against the emperor, which ended in their extorting the peace of Kadan, the first great measure securing church property to the Protestants. In 1545 also, when the emperor was gaining great advantages over the Smalkaldians, pope Paul III. again, in much alarm, urged Francis “to support those who were not yet beaten.”

England was also lost to the popedom, in no small measure from the secular condition of the pontiff. The first schism was caused when Clement feared to disoblige the emperor, if he had consented to the divorce of the queen of England, the emperor's aunt. The second time, on Elizabeth's accession, Paul IV. took a decided part against her, and alienated her forever, partly from his passionate hatred of the house of Austria, partly to gratify the brothers of the house of Guise, who hoped to set their niece, Mary Stuart, on the English throne.

When political and religious interests were so complicated, it is not to be wondered at that no consistent and decided efforts were practicable, on the part of Romish potentates, for repressing the Reformation; yet, if not repressed by force, it spread of itself. Only in Italy could the popes exercise direct authority; and, as early as the year 1542, they put the tremendous Inquisition into activity against all suspected of heresy. With this exception, no systematic efforts were made by the sovereigns during the whole reign of the emperor Charles; and accordingly this is the era of Protestant progression. But meanwhile, the old church was summoning up her forces to the conflict: an internal process of reform, and would-be regeneration was going on within her, of which we must give some account.

The intellectual tendency of the age had deepened theological study, and religious feeling; so that Italy herself produced not only elegant scholars, but men of profound thought, indignant at the desecration of holy things, and many of them decidedly agreeing with Luther as to the



grand doctrine of justification, and its main dogmatic consequences. They formed themselves into a spiritual society\* for common edification, and met, to the number of fifty or sixty, in one of the churches at Rome, most of them being men of high birth and superior literary acquirements. Eminent in this body was Gasper Contarini, from whose writings our author gives several interesting extracts.

The gospel, says he, in one of his letters, is no other than the blessed tidings, that the only begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the Eternal Father. He who believes this enters into the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal, he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience.—Vol. i. p. 139.

This belief, like a literary tendency or opinion (adds our author), spread over a great part of Italy. Pope Paul III., immediately on his accession (1534), made this Contarini a cardinal, and, at his suggestion, summoned into the college likewise other distinguished men, most of them members of the spiritual society above spoken of. By this honorable act, so different from the conduct of former popes, Paul III. laid a foundation for reconciliation with the German reformers. The cardinals commenced a vigorous war against all abuses, and by the pope's command drew up a scheme of church reform. Contarini pressed his views by numerous essays, written in a free and evangelical spirit, and finally undertook the office of papal legate to confer with the Protestant leaders at Ratisbon. The pope, however, did not dare to commit to him the full powers which he wished, and which the emperor demanded. Hence, although the two parties came to a full agreement on all doctrinal points, all proved in vain. Luther suspected fraud; the cardinals at Rome violently opposed Contarini's views of justification; the pope, the French, and the Germans themselves feared that the emperor would become absolute, if intestine religious quarrels among his people were extinguished, and, by the united result of these causes, the conference of Ratisbon broke up.

Eleven years passed before this same pope opened the council at Trent, so long promised. The proceedings of this celebrated council belong to two separate eras, 1545 and 1562. In the earlier, they built up an entire corpus of divinity, fundamentally opposed to the principles of the reformers, as to justification and all the kindred topics. Contarini was no more; his successor, cardinal Pole (also one of "the oratory of divine love"), was, however, his ardent admirer. Yet the legate, and his coadjutor the archbishop of Sienna, with other champions of moderate opinions, were entirely overpowered at the council; and quitted prematurely, fearing that their own faith would be the object of attack. Thus were Protestant doctrines definitely and finally rejected from Romanism, and conciliation forever rendered impossible.

The council did not effectively resume its sittings until the beginning

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\* Named, The Oratory of Divine Love.

of the year 1562, when, with great effort and much sincerity, Pius IV. assembled it to deliberate on reform; which was now the sole topic. Most strikingly did their discussions illustrate the tendency of Europe to assume the organization of independent national churches. Each of the three nations had its own complaints, and its own views. The Spaniards contended that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the papal, but was an independent divine appointment. The German ambassadors, in the name of the emperor Ferdinand, demanded that the plan of the council of Constance should be adopted as the basis of reform. Besides, he claimed the cup for the laity, permission for the priests to marry, dispensation from fasting, the erection of schools for the poor, improvement of the liturgies, of the catechisms, and of church music, and a stringent reformation of the convents. One of the articles which he proposed, was thus expressed: "It were to be wished that the pope should humble himself according to the example of Christ, and submit to a reform affecting his own person, his dominions and his cabinet. The council must reform the nomination of cardinals as well as the conclave." Ferdinand used to say; "As the cardinals are not good, how can they choose a good pope?" And on this occasion he pressed for the discussion of his articles in repeated letters.

Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, at the head of the French prelates, seconded the above. He further demanded that the public services should be celebrated in French, and that preaching should be introduced at the mass; letters also, which he brought from the king, strongly urged some of his requests. Moreover, the French clergy revived the decrees of the council of Basle, and openly asserted that the authority of a council was superior to that of the pope. All three nations cordially agreed in resisting the established order, according to which no one but the papal legate had a right to originate measures before the council.

In this state of things, very ample changes might have been expected. But the Italian prelates outnumbered and outvoted those of the other three nations; and made it an unprincipled contest for power. The sittings of the council lingered on for ten months, and the bitterest animosity arose. Now was the time for the sovereigns to secede, and to erect separate reforms for themselves in their respective nations! At length, fearing that nothing would be done, they allowed themselves to be talked over by the subtlety of Morone, the papal legate. This clever politician managed to content them with compromises, and with ambiguous reservations. He persuaded Philip II. that the Spanish clergy would be dangerous to him, if they were allowed to become independent of the pope; and meanwhile the French ministry, the Guises, aiming to put their niece, Mary of Scots, on the English throne, desired to make demonstrations of Catholic zeal. The divines also were wearied out with the tedious stay, and were ready to agree to any thing decent, in order to return home. Delicate questions, which would have compromised the interests of the higher powers,—the pope, cardinals, and sovereigns,—were evaded by Morone's address; and so much of reform as struck only against inferior offenders was at length carried triumphantly. The canonical rights of

the pope over bishops, and of bishops over their inferiors, were defined with as much severity as was needed to check all practical licentiousness. The proclamation at the end of the sittings was drawn up by Cardinal Guise, and contained a distinct recognition of the pope's ecclesiastical supremacy.

The practical reforms are thus summed up by our author :

The faithful were again subjected to severe and uncompromising church discipline, and, in pressing cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded in which the young clergy were carefully educated in austere habits, and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, strict rules laid down for the administration of the sacrament and for preaching, and the co-operation of the regular clergy governed by fixed laws. The duties of their office, especially the supervision of the clergy, were strongly impressed upon the bishops, according to the several degrees of their consecration. They also solemnly bound themselves by a peculiar profession of faith (which they subscribed, and to which they swore), to observe the decrees of the council of Trent and to render entire obedience to the pope ; a measure, the consequences of which were most important.—Vol. I. p. 357.

The council had laid down the law ; this would have been useless, had not a new spirit arisen, willing to apply the law. The light which had been kindled in the opening of this century, had put to shame the secularity and impurity of the whole system. While some nobler and more enlightened spirits, with Contarini and Pole, sought to deepen the grounds of religion, and shed its influence over the heart first, there were many more who aimed at outward improvement without any renewing of spiritual principles. The first overt manifestation of this was in the rise of *new religious orders*. We need not speak in detail of minor attempts to reform the Camaldolites and Franciscans ; nor of the new orders, called Theatins, Di Somasca, Barnabites—a sort of regular clergy with monks' vows—for all these are forgotten, in comparison with the Jesuits, the new order founded by Ignatius Loyola.

He was a noble Spanish knight, at an early age disabled by severe wounds. Having betaken himself to imaginative devotional contemplations, his misery became unbearable, under a sense that his heart was still in the world, which he was trying to leave. He escaped at length from his torment by learning (as he thought) to distinguish between the good and evil spirits which had access to his mind ; and now he gave himself up to enthusiastic visions, which formed the whole of his religion. But he retained the old habit of a soldier, regarding *obedience* as the first of duties, and unswervingly held to the principle of absolute submission to the pope.

We must only concisely add, that he at length went to Rome with the young friends who had enthusiastically bound themselves to him, and that they there assumed the title, *The Company of Jesus*. Several times they were molested by the charge of heresy, but succeeded in obtaining absolu-

tion. The austerity of their lives, their zeal in teaching, their attendance on the sick attracted numerous followers; their organization rapidly advanced, and the whole body resolved, *first*, to elect their general for life; *next*, to vow that they would perform whatever the pope should lay on them, without discussion, condition, or reward!

It was impossible for the court of Rome to decline such allies; and in 1543 they received an unconditional establishment. Their influence was first manifested in the early sittings of the council of Trent; where their energy defeated Cardinal Pole and the moderate party. The institution soon spread through Italy and Spain. They got rid, to a great extent, of useless ceremonies which wasted the time of the monks, and aimed at mastering every department of human knowledge. Very rapidly they took into their own hands the education of youth, and drove out of the field the more classical and pagan masters. In half a generation they thus revolutionized the taste of Italy. Admiration of classical architecture, and of the beauty of classical authors, came to an end; antiquity was now studied as a matter of erudition, not of taste. Society became stiffer, and more exclusive; classical simplicity was at an end. Literature became more decorous and more formal, and originality vanished.

In the year 1551, the Jesuits were invited by Ferdinand to Vienna, and with wonderful rapidity extended themselves over half of Germany. The favor of princes introduced them to the universities; and by diligence, zeal, order, formal erudition and ostentatious austerity, they carried all before them. Without genius, originality, or any deep and ingenuous piety, they monopolized education, and conquered German teachers on their own soil.

The ascetic spirit had also thrown more and more of its supporters into the cardinalate; and the bigot Caraffa urged the pope (Paul III.) to erect a universal tribunal called the Inquisition, after the model of that by which Ferdinand the Catholic had extirpated Moors in Spain. In 1542 the pope gave way to their representations, and to an express memorial from the hand of Ignatius Loyola. The cardinals Caraffa and Toledo were the first commissaries, and they proceeded without delay and without remorse, to perpetrate atrocities which have justly earned for the very name of the Inquisition the deepest hatred of Europe.

But the ascetic spirit presently reached the papacy itself. The first pope, elected for his purity of morals, was the aged Adrian of Utrecht, tutor of Charles V. This was in 1522, and indicated a turn of the tide. In 1534, Paul III. set the example of electing cardinals who had no recommendation but personal merit. In 1555, the power of the strict party was remarkably manifested by the election of *two* popes of their side. The former, Marcellus II., died on the 22d day, and the most austere of the cardinals, Caraffa, was chosen to succeed him. This old man was, as we have said, a vehement ascetic and a merciless bigot; but he had also been reared in an intense hatred of the house of Austria; and by his furious attacks on the rights of sovereigns, he did the papacy no small damage. His successor, Pius IV., though no zealot, forever put an end to the bold treasons against the estates of the church, in which the



relatives of a pope had been used to indulge; for he executed, without trial, Cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the late pope, and five of his nearest relations. Thenceforward nepotism showed itself only in a more legal form. But Pius IV., though himself a man of the world, did more than his predecessor for the spread of stricter morals, first, by forcing the council of Trent to a termination; secondly, by the influence of his nephew, Carlo Borromeo, a man of the purest integrity and simple piety, who was practically his prime-minister, and afterwards archbishop of Milan. This pope also terminated the vain effort of the papacy to support itself *against* the sovereigns, and commenced the close union with the Spanish crown, which each power found to be so profitable. We see, therefore, why his reign is the era at which Protestantism came to a stand.

II. Now commences the dreadful reaction in its full tide of power. His successor, Pius V., carried the ascetic principle to its highest point; and exhibited in his own character the deplorable and instructive union of deep devotion, singular purity, humility and unearthliness, with fanatical and most cruel bigotry. Archbishoprics and bishoprics gradually fell to the ascetic party; the Inquisition went on with its merciless work in Spain and Italy. Carranga, archbishop of Toledo, who, after Pole, had done more than any man to restore Romanism in England, was put to death for heterodoxy on the subject of justification: the members of the Oratory of Divine Love were extirpated. Speculative philosophy and physical science were punished with like furious and cruel zeal. It was by the advice of this pope that Philip II. endeavored to impose the Romish faith on Holland by force of arms: he approved Alva's bloody measures, and sent him the consecrated hat and sword in token of his approbation. In his papacy the Huguenots were utterly defeated in France, and preparations were made for the treacherous massacre on St. Bartholomew's eve, which his successor, Pope Gregory XIII., sanctioned. Thus, between the years 1566 and 1572, the bloody struggle was well nigh accomplished, by which Europe was divided, as it were forever, into Catholic and Protestant powers.

In the year 1563, Pius IV. had encouraged Albert, duke of Bavaria, to enforce Romanism in his dominions, by a gift of one tenth of the property of the clergy. Thenceforward, the Catholic princes of Germany co-operated with the Jesuits with the utmost zeal; explaining away or violating the treaty of Passau, and many of them imitating the cruelties of Italy and Spain. The Austrian rulers were more mild and prudent; yet many important steps were there also taken in the same direction. Only in two countries had Catholicism met a direct check: in Holland and in England. The bloody and atrocious acts, which will ever stain the names of Philip and of Alva, did not subdue the brave Hollanders; the Invincible Armada effected nothing against England. So ended this second era.

It may well perplex a moralist to discuss whether Rome was better towards the close of the sixteenth than at the end of the fifteenth century. Red-handed crime and bold-faced libertinism were driven out of the priestly order at the later period. Decorum of conduct was requisite even for a

cardinal or a pope; none were too high to feel public opinion. Dignity and seriousness were universal; and wickedness paid to virtue the tribute of hypocrisy. But ambition and avarice were as active as ever; dissimulation had changed its form, not its nature, nor its ends: cruelty might find its vent under the garb of religious zeal: all freedom of inquiry, in philosophy or in science, was stopped by the Inquisition, and the Romish kingdoms appeared to be banded forever in implacable hatred and war against the Protestant powers.

III. In the third era, France begins to assume a new aspect. The French court had recently outdone Alva in treacherous cruelty to Protestants. But the weakness of Henry III. stirred up the house of Guise to usurp the royal power, under pretence that the king was not zealous enough in the Catholic cause. A great league of malcontents was formed; the Spanish armies and the Jesuits took part against the crown. Now it was that the subtle casuistry of the latter began to develop itself, and their doctrine that it is lawful to assassinate kings was spread. Henry himself had the two brothers of Guise thus murdered; and immediately after, he also suffered the same fate, by the hand of a monk. The pope, the Spanish ambassador, and the whole party were delighted at the event; but it opened the throne of France to Henry of Navarre, a Protestant whom the pope had excommunicated.

Endless were the intrigues now set on foot, tedious the civil war. Suffice it to say, that Henry prevailed, by the active help of the Huguenots and our queen Elizabeth; and issued the famous edict of Nantes, for the protection of Protestants; that he won the hearts of his Catholic subjects, who zealously acknowledged him; that the pope would not absolve him, even when he professed Catholicism (for he was a heretic twice lapsed!), so the Gallican church received him without the pope's leave; and successfully asserted her independence. France became reconciled to herself, and enthusiastically national; while at Rome, two hostile factions, French and Spanish, were organized.

At the same time great jealousy arose against the domination of Spaniards among the Jesuits; and the pope made a Neapolitan of the French party, *general* of the order. The Spanish party accused the new and rising faction of heresies akin to Pelagianism: the French people assailed the whole order for their king-killing doctrine, which was awfully illustrated in an attempt to assassinate Henry IV. The spell of their sanctity was broken, and it began to be understood that they were crafty politicians, unsound moralists, whom the sovereigns had cause to dread. They quarrelled also with the Inquisition, which had dared to arrest and judge one of their members.

The Spaniards at the same time offended the papal court deeply, by dictating to it concerning the elections of popes; by which they threw the pope into the arms of France for succor. Moreover, in the sage republic of Venice, arose formidable enemies to the court of Rome. Long irritation had been produced by the pope's invasion of their Italian territorial rights, as well as by his ecclesiastical pretensions, and Leonardo Donato was elected doge, the great opponent of the pope's temporal claims. All

Venice was laid under an interdict, but the Venetians pronounced the bull, *ipso facto*, null and void, and none of the clergy would obey it. The papacy, which had seemed to itself at the pinnacle of power and glory, was aghast to find itself impotent against so small a state. It needed all the efforts of France and Spain united, to heal the pride of the combatants, and smooth over the surface of affairs. Still the effect was great on Europe, especially as it gave immense interest to the treatises of Fra Paolo Sarpi (the impartial historian of the council of Trent), on the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal sovereignty.

But, next to the failure of the Spanish Armada, the most important event of this period was the permanent vindication of Sweden from a Catholic yoke. Its king, Sigismund Augustus, having overturned the Protestant rights of Poland, thought to do the same with equal ease in Sweden, when by the death of her king he became the heir. His haughty conduct gave full warning of his intentions, which were opposed by constitutional and vigorous methods. At length he tried the fortune of war against his uncle, Duke Charles, leader of the Protestants, and was totally defeated. Lutheranism was permanently incorporated with the constitution, and Spain lost all hope of getting a Swedish port to facilitate her attempts on England, Holland, or, if chance so required, northern Germany. This important revolution was finished, A. D. 1600.

Still the Romish cause gained ground in this era. Poland was won back to the old system, although neither Protestantism nor the Greek faith could be wholly suppressed. In Germany also, the counter-reformation continued to work; always by the co-operation of the princes and Jesuits. Even at Gratz, the central point of the Protestant doctrine and interest, the Austrian princes, reared under the Jesuits, determinately enforced the Romish doctrine. Matters became so critical, as to produce a new Union of Protestant princes, when the Catholics alleged that the recess of Augsburg (which had expounded the treaty of Passau) was null and void. The Romanists dared not go forward, but both sides prepared for war.

It is evident that the ascetic impulse, whence the counter-reformation had sprung, was already spent in most parts of Europe. In Spain and Italy, where it achieved its work most rapidly, it scarcely outlived the career of those who, like Philip II., had been young in its commencement. Yet the effects survived. Especially the pure and sainted life of Carlo Borromeo, and others of his school, as St. François de Sales, spread a new and better spirit across the Alps, and gave rise to a great internal regeneration in the French church and monasteries. The real piety and striking usefulness of the new Gallican saints did more mischief to Protestantism in that country, than the swords of their enemies had effected.

IV. The fourth era opens with the Thirty Years' War in Germany. In this period of dreadful confusion, warfare began first to be practised on a large scale, and with the principles of modern science. The Lutheran princes ill supported the Calvinistic elector Palatine. France and Spain renewed their alliance; the imperial armies were triumphant; but just when the Protestants appeared to be swallowed up by their enemies,

an unexpected door of deliverance was opened. The Spaniards had severely wounded the pope in his Italian interests, and the policy of Urban VIII. was decidedly anti-Austrian. He stirred up war on the side of France, and drew off the Austrian armies to another object. The power of the Emperor Ferdinand was already vast; should he utterly subdue the Protestant princes, what could withstand the house of Austria? It was no time for the pope to be over nice, and Cardinal Richelieu had no Catholic scruples. He called in the able and victorious Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to assail the emperor in the north: the pope was cognizant of the whole affair, and of the stipulations made with Gustavus. The Protestants had not been really subdued: they were ready rather to "restore Germany once more to her ancient solitude and "barbarism." Italian intrigue pervaded all the empire, and won over the German princes. Among other victories of diplomacy, they induced the emperor to dismiss Wallenstein, his overbearing but victorious general.

Now properly the war commenced, A. D. 1625. Gustavus Adolphus for a time carried every thing before him, and seemed likely to become emperor of all northern Germany. It was known that the pope rejoiced in his success; but the furious protests of the Spaniards, Austrians, and even of the cardinals, had no effect on the violent and determined Urban. Gustavus fell prematurely in his career of conquest, yet the war lingered on with dreadful atrocities, and, Cardinal Richelieu's armies distracting the emperor, neither party was strong enough to end it. The pope himself then impeded peace, by making inordinate claims at the very last; stubbornly enforcing the very things which the Protestants were fighting to avoid. At length a congress of the powers made peace in the very face of the papal nuncio, and against his protest. So strikingly did the theoretical rights of the papacy disable the pontiffs from retaining influence over the Catholic states!

Meanwhile, a vast effect was wrought both in France and on all Europe, by the administration of the ambitious Cardinal Richelieu. His incessant efforts were directed to suppress the political power of the Huguenots, and concentrate the entire force of the kingdom in the hands of the crown. He was not, properly speaking, a persecutor of the Protestants; for he granted them a certain toleration as soon as he had taken their last fortress. After this, he added his exertions to those of the English and Dutch, to wear out Spain by war. This country was already half ruined by misgovernment and by the oppressive effects of enslavement in mind and body; and continued rapidly to decay. With Spain fell all hope of more widely extended Romish domination in Europe. France soon showed a sufficiently anti-papal spirit. Louis XIV. appears to have loved to mortify the court of Rome, by denying and curtailing its privileges to the utmost; while he vindicated his orthodoxy by his cruel banishment of the Protestants.

The papal power, meanwhile, had internally decayed just as had that of Spain. Our author furnishes us with much new and valuable information on the finances of the popes and their internal administration, at which we can but glance.



When Julius II. first enlarged so greatly the territory of the popes, the estates of the church were more lightly taxed than any in Italy; and the municipal privileges of cities were reserved to them. It is in *this* form, and not in provincial parliaments, that liberty has ever shown itself in Italy. But in the sixteenth century, the popes contracted a vast national debt, and loaded their people with oppressive taxation. They gradually usurped the rights of the cities; and, by trying to confiscate the estates of nobles under legal pretexts, brought on a dangerous intestine war of banditti, which perhaps has never since been perfectly suppressed. Each new pope founded a new noble family, which had to be provided for; and in spite of after acquisitions of territory, through their inordinate expenses,—in wars, in subsidies to the Germans, in educational and collegiate establishments, in architectural embellishments, in secret service money, and in gifts of hard cash to their own relations,—through such causes they became more and more impoverished.

The state of Italy, for nearly two centuries past, has convinced every politician in Europe, of whatever ecclesiastical sentiments, how baneful to that country is the government of the sovereign pontiff. In no other civilized land is the interest of rulers and subjects so little identified. The first object considered is not the benefit of the people, nor of any class; national interests can hardly exist; but to the aggrandizement of "the church" all besides is sacrificed by the best intentioned of the popes. In more recent days, the papal revenue from without has been perpetually suffering curtailment. The Gallican finances are gone forever; from South America and from Mexico little can now find its way to Rome; Spain and Portugal have ceased to furnish treasures; Austria was always parsimonious. From Italy alone must now be drained whatever the court of Rome can get for carrying on its wide schemes of conquest. Such indeed is the singular state of things, that the pope's person and kingdom might be endangered by the expulsion of English travellers from Rome; whose vast expenditure helps the public revenue, and enriches the shopkeepers.

The end of this important drama has not yet been seen. Without presumptuous speculation, we may believe that Romanism must not be destroyed till a better order of things is fully prepared. Had the Reformation thoroughly demolished the papal authority, national churches would probably have followed, and we might have been farther than ever from attaining liberty of conscience. The pope without, and the state within have struggled to wrest from us the things which belong to God; and it is for our interest that neither of the usurpers should triumph. At this moment we behold popery in these kingdoms as a useful set-off and antagonist to its fac simile in the Anglican church. Truly they are akin, yet their strife is implacable; they must ever wage war to the death. We take courage therefore in the midst of all such alarms, and believe that the hand of Providence will at length show that all these things have worked together for good to the true church universal of the living God.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The *Eclectic Review*, from which we have selected the foregoing analysis of Professor Ranke's admirable work, is the leading journal of the Dissenters in England. It may be regarded as expressing the views of all the Protestant denominations, excepting the "Church of England," respecting the evils of national church establishments, and the present relations of Popery to the government of Great Britain. These views are indicated in several passages in the preceding analysis, and especially in its closing paragraph; to the expressions of which, we presume American readers, in general, will readily assent. But by those who are not prepared to make war upon the national church establishments of England and Scotland, other views are entertained. Among the most liberal of these are the conductors of the *Edinburgh Review*, from which we make the following extracts. They are from an article of more than forty pages, on the subject of *Ranke's History*, written in a style of glowing and spirited eloquence, but containing a much less perfect analysis of the book, than the preceding from the *Eclectic Review*, and exhibiting some reasonings which, to us, appear incorrect and unsatisfactory. Our extracts present the principal points in which the views of the writer differ from those presented in the above analysis, and some additional thoughts of striking force and interest.—SR. ED.

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From the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1840.

The subject of this book has always appeared to us singularly interesting. How it was that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more—how it was that the church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost—is certainly a most curious and important question; and on this question Professor Ranke has thrown far more light than any other person who has written on it.

There is not, and there never was, on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic church. The history of that church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century, to the pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth; and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends, till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice was modern when compared with the papacy; and the republic of Venice is gone, and the papacy remains. The papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique; but full of life and youthful vigor. The Catholic church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world, mis-

sionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine; and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the new world have more than compensated her for what she has lost in the old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn—countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than a hundred and fifty millions; and it will be difficult to show that all the other Christian sects united amount to a hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments, and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain—before the Frank had passed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch—when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

We often hear it said that the world is constantly becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be favorable to Protestantism, and unfavorable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this be a well-founded expectation. We see that during the last two hundred and fifty years, the human mind has been in the highest degree active—that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy—that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life—that medicine, surgery, chemistry, engineering have been very greatly improved—that government, police and law have been improved, though not quite to the same extent. Yet we see that, during these two hundred and fifty years, Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that, as far as there has been a change, that change has been in favor of the church of Rome. We cannot, therefore, feel confident that the progress of knowledge will necessarily be fatal to a system which has, to say the least, stood its ground in spite of the immense progress which knowledge has made since the days of queen Elizabeth.

Again the writer remarks:

During the last seven centuries the public mind of Europe has made constant progress in every department of secular knowledge. But in religion we can trace no constant progress. The ecclesiastical history of that long period is a history of movement to-and-fro. Four times, since the authority of the church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong

within her. When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.

STRICTURES BY THE EDITOR.

In connection with the above remarks our reviewer labors, as we think unsuccessfully, to prove that, in respect to theology, the case is wholly different,—that here no progress has been made in knowledge. In respect to natural religion, he maintains that the same evidences of design, in the structure of the universe, were presented to the early Greeks, and that, therefore, the philosopher of the present day is no more favorably situated to discern these evidences, than Thales or Simonides. For a similar reason he regards revealed religion as not of the nature of a progressive science. Because all revealed truth, according to the doctrine of the Protestant churches, is recorded in the Bible, to which not a single verse is allowed to be added, therefore it is, that “a Christian of the fifth century with a Bible, is on a par with a Christian of the nineteenth century with a Bible.”

But to us, these conclusions appear to be wholly unsupported. The same reasoning might be extended, with just the same force of evidence, to every department of secular knowledge. The works of God are as perfect as his word. The objects of knowledge are all perfect, and alike perfect, whether presented to the mind of the savage or the philosopher. In this respect the most cultivated mind possesses no advantage over the most rude and uninstructed. But in power to perceive and comprehend the objects of knowledge, whether in the material or the spiritual world, the minds of men greatly differ. While, therefore, the evidences of both natural and revealed religion were as perfect in the fifth as in the nineteenth century, and no improvement can be made in *them*, it is by no means true that no improvement can be made in the clearness and comprehensiveness of our conceptions of them. Doubtless the human mind is capable of making progress in the knowledge of religious truth, as well as in any other branch of knowledge. And where is the evidence, so confidently assumed by our reviewer, that no such progress has been made? “The public mind in Europe,” he says, “has made constant progress in secular knowledge,” but none in religion. Again he says: Four times has “the human intellect” risen up against the errors of Rome. Does he mean, by these expressions, the *mind of all Europe* and the *intellect of the whole human race*? Certainly not. His reasoning, then, is inconclusive; for, by his own showing, in a subsequent part of his review, large masses of the public mind in Europe have effectually thrown off the Roman yoke, and are reaping the benefits of their emancipation. We pass, therefore, with delight to this part of his discussion, which eloquently resists the sad conclusion to which his mistaken theory has conducted him.—SR. ED.

The geographical frontier between the two religions has continued to run almost precisely where it ran at the close of the Thirty Years' War; nor has Protestantism given any proofs of that “expansive power” which has been ascribed to it. But the Protestant boasts, and most justly, that wealth, civilization and intelligence have increased far more on the northern than on the southern side of the boundary; that countries so little



favored by nature as Scotland and Prussia are now among the most flourishing and best governed portions of the world—while the marble palaces of Genoa are deserted—while banditti infest the beautiful shores of Campania—while the fertile sea-coast of the Pontifical State is abandoned to buffaloes and wild boars. It cannot be doubted, that since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations—fair allowance being made for physical disadvantages—have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbors. The progress made by those nations in which Protestantism, though not finally successful, yet maintained a long struggle, and left permanent traces, has generally been considerable. But when we come to the Catholic land, to the part of Europe in which the first spark of reformation was trodden out as soon as it appeared, and from which proceeded the impulse which drove Protestantism back, we find, at best, a very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression. Compare Denmark and Portugal. When Luther began to preach, the superiority of the Portuguese was unquestionable. At present, the superiority of the Danes is no less so. Compare Edinburgh and Florence. Edinburgh has owed less to climate, to soil, and to the fostering care of rulers than any capital, Protestant or Catholic. In all these respects, Florence has been singularly happy. Yet whoever knows what Florence and Edinburgh were in the generation preceding the Reformation, and what they are now, will acknowledge that some great cause has, during the last three centuries, operated to raise one part of the European family, and to depress the other. Compare the history of England and that of Spain during the last century. In arms, arts, sciences, letters, commerce, agriculture, the contrast is most striking. The distinction is not confined to this side of the Atlantic. The colonies planted by England in America have immeasurably outgrown in power those planted by Spain. Yet we have no reason to believe that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Castilian was in any respect inferior to the Englishman. Our firm belief is, that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation; and that the decay of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival.

#### STRICTURES BY THE EDITOR.

It is in Protestant nations alone, then, and not in Catholic, that “the public mind in Europe has made constant progress in every department of secular knowledge.” Why does not our reviewer admit that, in the same nations, an equally surpassing progress has been made in religious knowledge? Has Protestantism, here, no advantage over Romanism? Does the spirit of Protestantism awaken the human mind to the investigation of all the topics of secular truth, and yet leave it dark and imbecile in respect to the truths of natural and revealed religion? Nothing can be more inconclusive than this discrimination. Even if we grant the position, that “a Christian of the fifth century, with a Bible, is on a par with a Christian of the nineteenth century, with a Bible,” it may not be thence inferred that a Christian in a Catholic nation, *without* a Bible, is on a par with a Christian in a Protestant nation, *with* a Bible. Yet this

is precisely the difference between the positions of the public mind in Catholic and Protestant countries. In the one, the Bible is withheld from the public mind;—in the other it is open to universal investigation. And, that the truths of revelation, in Protestant countries, are better understood by the people, and that they are far more extensively and clearly inculcated by the ministers of religion, than in Catholic countries, are facts as susceptible of proof, historically, as that the one has surpassed the other “in every department of secular knowledge.”

But our reviewer affirms that Protestantism, since the close of the Thirty Years' War, has given no proofs “of that expansive power which has been ascribed to it.” In respect to the extension of mere political power, this statement must be admitted to be substantially correct. It was especially true of the period of one hundred years from the close of the war above referred to; and some of the reasons of it are beautifully and strikingly illustrated by the writer in a previous part of his review. The Catholics, he remarks, had more union of doctrine, and “an infinitely superior organization.” He then adds:—*Sr. Ed.*—

In truth, Protestantism, for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The reformed churches were mere national churches. The church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the court of common pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operations. The church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic church, on the other hand, took in the whole world. Nobody at Lambeth, or at Edinburgh, troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But at Rome, Cracow and Munich were objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St. John Lateran. Our island, the head of the Protestant interest, did not send out a single missionary or a single instructor of youth to the scene of the great spiritual war. Not a single seminary was established here for the purpose of furnishing a supply of such persons to foreign countries. On the other hand, Germany, Hungary and Poland were filled with able and active Catholic emissaries of Spanish or Italian birth; and colleges for the instruction of the northern youth were founded at Rome. The spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad, and could therefore make no conquests. Rome had such a local militia; but she had also a force disposable at a moment's notice for foreign service, however dangerous or disagreeable. If it was thought at headquarters that a Jesuit at Palermo was qualified by his talents and character to withstand the reformers in Lithuania, the order was instantly given and instantly obeyed. In a month, the faithful servant of the church was preaching, catechising, confessing, beyond the Niemen.

It is impossible to deny that the polity of the church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom. In truth, nothing but such a polity could, against such assaults, have bourned up such doctrines. The experience of twelve hundred eventful years, the ingenuity and patient care of forty generations of statesmen, have improved it to such perfection, that among the contrivances of political ability, it occupies the highest place.

The stronger our conviction that reason and Scripture were decidedly on the side of Protestantism, the greater is the reluctant admiration with which we regard that system of tactics against which reason and Scripture were arrayed in vain.

If we went at large into this most interesting subject, we should fill volumes. We will, therefore, at present advert to only one important part of the policy of the church of Rome. She thoroughly understands, what no other church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts. In some sects—particularly in infant sects—enthusiasm is suffered to be rampant. In other sects—particularly in sects long established and richly endowed—it is regarded with aversion. The Catholic church neither submits to enthusiasm nor proscribes it, but uses it. She considers it as a great moving force which, in itself, like the muscular powers of a fine horse, is neither good nor evil, but which may be so directed as to produce great good or great evil; and she assumes the direction to herself. It would be absurd to run down a horse like a wolf. It would be still more absurd to let him run wild, breaking fences and trampling down passengers. The rational course is to subjugate his will, without impairing his vigor—to teach him to obey the rein, and then to urge him to full speed. When once he knows his master, he is valuable in proportion to his strength and spirit. Just such has been the system of the church of Rome with regard to enthusiasts. She knows that when religious feelings have obtained the complete empire of the mind, they impart a strange energy, that they raise men above the dominion of pain and pleasure, that obloquy becomes glory, that death itself is contemplated only as the beginning of a higher and happier life. She knows that a person in this state is no object of contempt. He may be vulgar, ignorant, visionary, extravagant: but he will do and suffer things which it is for her interest that somebody should do and suffer, yet from which calm and sober-minded men would shrink. She accordingly enlists him in her service, assigns to him some forlorn hope, in which intrepidity and impetuosity are more wanted than judgment and self-command, and sends him forth with her benedictions and her applause.

In England it not unfrequently happens that a tinker or coal-heaver hears a sermon, or falls in with a tract, which alarms him about the state of his soul. If he be a man of excitable nerves and strong imagination, he thinks himself given over to the Evil Power. He doubts whether he has not committed the unpardonable sin. He imputes every wild fancy that springs up in his mind to the whisper of a fiend. His sleep is broken by dreams of the great judgment-seat, the open books and the unquenchable fire. If, in order to escape from these vexing thoughts, he flies to amusement or to licentious indulgence, the delusive relief only makes his misery darker and more hopeless. At length a turn takes place. He is reconciled to his offended Maker. To borrow the fine imagery of one who had himself been thus tried, he emerges from the valley of the shadow of death, from the dark land of gins and snares, of quagmires and precipices, of evil spirits and ravenous beasts. The sunshine is on his path. He ascends the Delectable Mountains, and catches from their sum-

mit a distant view of the shining city which is the end of his pilgrimage. Then arises in his mind a natural, and surely not a censurable desire, to impart to others the thoughts of which his own heart is full—to warn the careless, to comfort those who are troubled in spirit. The impulse which urges him to devote his whole life to the teaching of religion, is a strong passion in the guise of a duty. He exhorts his neighbors; and, if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect. He pleads as if he were pleading for his life, with tears, and pathetic gestures, and burning words; and he soon finds with delight, not perhaps wholly unmixed with the alloy of human infirmity, that his rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly while the rector preaches on the apostolical succession. Zeal for God, love for his fellow creatures, pleasure in the exercise of his newly discovered powers impel him to become a preacher. He has no quarrel with the establishment, no objection to its formularies, its government, or its vestments. He would gladly be admitted among its humblest ministers. But, admitted or rejected, his vocation is determined. His orders have come down to him, not through a long and doubtful series of Arian and Papist bishops, but direct from on high. His commission is the same that on the mountain of Ascension was given to the eleven. Nor will he, for lack of human credentials, spare to deliver the glorious message with which he is charged by the true Head of the church. For a man thus minded, there is within the pale of the establishment no place. He has been at no college; he cannot construe a Greek author, nor write a Latin theme; and he is told that, if he remains in the communion of the church, he must do so as a hearer, and that, if he is resolved to be a teacher, he must begin by being a schismatic. His choice is soon made. He harangues on Tower Hill or in Smithfield. A congregation is formed. A license is obtained. A plain, brick building, with a desk and benches, is run up, and named Ebenezer or Bethel. In a few weeks the church has lost forever a hundred families, not one of which entertained the least scruple about her articles, her liturgy, her government or her ceremonies.

Far different is the policy of Rome. The ignorant enthusiast, whom the Anglican church makes an enemy, and, whatever the polite and learned may think, a most dangerous enemy, the Catholic church makes a champion. She bids him nurse his beard, covers him with a gown and hood of coarse dark stuff, ties a rope round his waist, and sends him forth to teach in her name. He costs her nothing. He takes not a ducat away from the revenues of her beneficed clergy. He lives by the alms of those who respect his spiritual character, and are grateful for his instructions. He preaches, not exactly in the style of Massillon, but in a way which moves the passions of uneducated hearers; and all his influence is employed to strengthen the church of which he is a minister. To that church he becomes as strongly attached as any of the cardinals, whose scarlet carriages and liveries crowd the entrance of the palace on the Quirinal. In this way, the church of Rome unites in herself all the strength of establishment, and all the strength of dissent. With the utmost pomp of a dominant hierarchy above, she has all the energy of the



voluntary system below. It would be easy to mention very recent instances in which the hearts of hundreds of thousands, estranged from her by the selfishness, sloth and cowardice of the beneficent clergy, have been brought back by the zeal of the begging friars.

Even for female agency there is a place in her system. To devout women she assigns spiritual functions, dignities and magistracies. In our country, if a noble lady is moved by more than ordinary zeal for the propagation of religion, the chance is, that, though she may disapprove of no one doctrine or ceremony of the established church, she will end by giving her name to a new schism. If a pious and benevolent woman enters the cells of a prison, to pray with the most unhappy and degraded of her own sex, she does so without any authority from the church. No line of action is traced out for her; and it is well if the ordinary does not complain of her intrusion, and if the bishop does not shake his head at such irregular benevolence. At Rome, the Countess of Huntingdon would have a place in the calendar as St. Selina, and Mrs. Fry would be foundress and first Superior of the blessed order of Sisters of the Gaols.

Place Ignatius Loyola at Oxford. He is certain to become the head of a formidable secession. Place John Wesley at Rome. He is certain to be the first general of a new society devoted to the interests and honor of the church. Place St. Theresa in London. Her restless enthusiasm ferments into madness, not untinged with craft. She becomes the prophetess, the mother of the faithful, holds disputations with the devil, issues sealed pardons to her adorers, and lies in of the Shiloh. Place Joanna Southcote at Rome. She founds an order of barefooted Carmelites, every one of whom is ready to suffer martyrdom for the church:—a solemn service is consecrated to her memory:—and her statue, placed over the holy water, strikes the eye of every stranger who enters St. Peter's.

We have dwelt long on this subject, because we believe, that of the many causes to which the church of Rome owed her safety and her triumph at the close of the sixteenth century, the chief was the profound policy with which she used the fanaticism of such persons as St. Ignatius and St. Theresa.

#### FURTHER STRICTURES BY THE EDITOR.

The foregoing remarks are worthy of the consideration of Protestant Christians of every name. We agree with the writer in the belief that the church of Rome owes much of her extension to the point of her policy here so graphically exhibited. But we have yet to learn that Protestantism has given "no proofs" of "expansive power," since the middle of the seventeenth century. Her geographical lines in Europe, it is true, have not materially changed. And the reasons are obvious. The light of Protestantism has been excluded from Catholic countries, by political power. In those directions, therefore, it could not expand. And associated and controlled as it has been, in Protestant countries, by national church establishments, its expansion, in other directions, has been mournfully impeded. Yet, against all these impediments Protest-

antism has gone abroad with the colonies of Europe, and become the prevalent religion of an immense nation on our own continent. Here, too, it has released itself from the incumbrance of state control, and enjoys the freedom which is the native right of Christianity. And the spirit of missions, on the principle of a voluntary consecration of individual talent and wealth to the service of Christ, since the commencement of the present century, has planted the pioneers of Protestantism in almost every heathen country.

These considerations are not even alluded to by our reviewer. But to us they present themselves, as grounds of the most cheering encouragement, against the influence of the dark picture which his eloquent but mistaken reasoning would present to the mind of the reader. In the mean time, the same moral influences, which Protestant countries are sending abroad in the heathen world, are also gathering strength within their own borders, and are ready and waiting, with vast accumulations, to flow over into Catholic countries, wherever the arm of secular power shall fail to sustain the barriers which are now opposed to its expansion. While, therefore, we dwell with interest on the historical sketch contained in the following remarks, at the close of the review in the *Edinburgh*, we do not fully sympathize with the writer in his melancholy forebodings.—SR. ED.

It is not strange that in the year 1799, even sagacious observers should have thought that, at length, the hour of the church of Rome was come. An infidel power ascendant—the pope dying in captivity—the most illustrious prelates of France living in a foreign country on Protestant alms—the noblest edifices which the munificence of former ages had consecrated to the worship of God, turned into temples of victory, or into banqueting-houses for political societies, or into Theophilanthropic chapels—such signs might well be supposed to indicate the approaching end of that long domination.

But the end was not yet. Again doomed to death, the milk-white hind was still fated not to die. Even before the funeral rites had been performed over the ashes of Pius the Sixth, a great reaction had commenced, which after the lapse of more than forty years appears to be still in progress. Anarchy had its day. A new order of things rose out of the confusion—new dynasties, new laws, new titles; and amidst them emerged the ancient religion.

The Arabs have a fable that the great pyramid was built by antediluvian kings, and alone, of all the works of men, bore the weight of the flood. Such as this was the fate of the papacy. It had been buried under the great inundation; but its deep foundations had remained unshaken; and, when the waters abated, it appeared alone amidst the ruins of a world which had passed away. The republic of Holland was gone, and the empire of Germany, and the Great Council of Venice, and the old Helvetic League, and the House of Bourbon, and the parliaments and aristocracy of France. Europe was full of young creations—a French empire, a kingdom of Italy, a Confederation of the Rhine. Nor had the late events affected only territorial limits and political institutions. The

distribution of property, the composition and spirit of society, had, through a great part of Europe, undergone a complete change. But the unchangeable church was still there. Some future historian, as able and temperate as Professor Ranke, will, we hope, trace the progress of the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century. We feel that we are drawing too near our own time; and that, if we go on, we shall be in danger of saying much which may be supposed to indicate, and which will certainly excite, angry feelings. We will, therefore, make only one observation, which, in our opinion, is deserving of serious attention.

During the eighteenth century, the influence of the church of Rome was constantly on the decline. Unbelief made extensive conquests in all the Catholic countries of Europe, and in some countries obtained a complete ascendancy. The papacy was at length brought so low as to be an object of derision to infidels, and of pity rather than hatred to Protestants. During the nineteenth century, this fallen church has been gradually rising from her depressed state, and reconquering her old dominion. No person who calmly reflects on what, within the last few years, has passed in Spain, in Italy, in South America, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Prussia, even in France, can doubt that her power over the hearts and minds of men is now greater than it was when the "Encyclopædia" and the "Philosophical Dictionary" appeared. It is surely remarkable, that neither the moral revolution of the eighteenth century, nor the moral counter-revolution of the nineteenth should, in any perceptible degree, have added to the domain of Protestantism. During the former period, whatever was lost to Catholicism was lost also to Christianity; during the latter, whatever was regained by Christianity in Catholic countries, was regained also by Catholicism. We should naturally have expected that many minds, on the way from superstition to infidelity, or on the way back from infidelity to superstition, would have stopped at an intermediate point. Between the doctrines taught in the schools of the Jesuits, and those which were maintained at the little supper parties of the Baron Holbach, there is a vast interval, in which the human mind, it should seem, might find for itself some resting place more satisfactory than either of the two extremes. And at the time of the reformation, millions found such a resting place. Whole nations then renounced Popery without ceasing to believe in a first cause, in a future life, or in the divine authority of Christianity. In the last century, on the other hand, when a Catholic renounced his belief in the real presence, it was a thousand to one that he renounced his belief in the gospel too; and when the reaction took place, with belief in the gospel came back belief in the real presence.

We by no means venture to deduce from these phenomena any general law; but we think it a most remarkable fact, that no Christian nation, which did not adopt the principles of the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century, should ever have adopted them. Catholic communities have, since that time, become infidel and become Catholic again; but none has become Protestant.

Here we close this hasty sketch of one of the most important portions of the history of mankind. Our readers will have great reason to feel obliged to us if we have interested them sufficiently to induce them to peruse Professor Ranke's book. We will only caution them against the French translation—a performance which, in our opinion, is just as discreditable to the moral character of the person from whom it proceeds, as a false affidavit or a forged bill of exchange would have been; and advise them to study either the original, or the English version, in which the sense and spirit of the original are admirably preserved.

EXPLANATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The Foreign Quarterly Review, for October, also contains an able review of Ranke's History of the Popes. From this we extract only the closing paragraphs, to show that the writer, as well as Professor Ranke himself, entertains much more cheerful views of the prospects of Protestantism than those presented in the Edinburgh. We premise that *Catholicity*, as used by this writer, is not synonymous with *Romanism*, but is employed to express the true spirit of Protestantism.—SR. ED.

From the Foreign Quarterly Review.

We select the concluding passage of Ranke, as a specimen of elegant succinctness of language.

Were we to look only at the efforts of the hierarchical party and of its opponents, we should be led to fear that a deadly war was ready to break out between them afresh, to convulse the world, and to revive the old animosities in all their bitterness. But if, on the other hand, we turn our eyes to the universal activity of men, which characterizes the age, we dismiss those fears as groundless. Few, indeed, are now disposed to re-establish the dominion of a priesthood in the true and full sense of the word; and were any found to make the attempt, it is precisely in the Romance countries, the ancient seat and stronghold of Catholicism, that it would experience the most violent opposition. Nor among the Protestants can there be a return to the bigotry, the exclusiveness, the narrow-minded antipathy of the old system. We see the profounder spirits on either side gradually recurring, with more knowledge, with larger and deeper insight, with more freedom from the fetters of cramping church-formularies, to the eternal principles of genuine and spiritual religion. It is impossible that this tendency can be barren of results.—VOL. III. p. 245.

And in this we believe, with the reservation that Protestantism is not at present a narrow and exclusive system. Protestantism now is what Catholicity always was; a system embracing in it all the fundamentals of salvation, unmixed with foreign matter. Formularies every faith must possess, for in formularies Christ has fixed his law. But with the Bible as



the standard, and the church as the expositor of the Bible and the teacher of nothing else, grounding her own authority on it, and only holding such traditions as pure centuries of the faith have transmitted, there can be no question on Catholicity. To this the tendencies of time are bringing all. Jesuits may again spring up, inquisitions revive, monachism for a time flourish, but the world is opposed to them all, and a spirit above the world is quietly removing these warts on the universe, by its caustic and purifying influence. England alone (a point to which Ranke seems singularly insensible in his work) possesses more influence over the political, moral and religious tendencies of the world, than the Roman See in the highest element of her power ever enjoyed; and we trust she will ever use the proud position of Queen of the Seas, and mistress of a mass of subjects unparalleled in the annals of the world, to the promotion of that spread of intellect, that diffusion of morality and religion, which a nation holding her sceptre must display, and in this she will not simply secure the permanent stability, but the actual increase of her own gigantic power.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

##### BELGIAN LITERATURE:—REYNARD THE FOX.

##### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN first directing the attention of an inquirer to the literature of a country, such selections as illustrate its origin seem most apposite. Beginning with the prominent examples of the early developments of a people, the mind may be led on, in the natural order of events, to a more perfect appreciation, than can otherwise be acquired, of the characteristics of their literary history. We know of nothing, therefore, better suited than the following article, to prepare our readers for such contributions as we may hereafter have occasion to furnish from the literature, not only of Belgium, but of Germany, France, and the whole of Europe.

The singular and renowned production, which is here reviewed, is a relic of the poetry of the middle ages. It is not only illustrative of the character of the people among whom it is supposed to have had its origin, but also of the spirit and taste of the times to which its history is traced. It is probably the work of no single author and the production of no one country. The controversies which have arisen on the subject of its origin have been perplexed, not only by anger and false patriotism, but by inevitable ignorance; and it is now admitted to be impossible to fix with certainty the time or place of its beginning. It sprang up in the dark wilderness of the past, like a river, rising in the remote dis-

tance, from obscure springs, and gathering strength from a thousand rills, as it rolls on. In this way it early became extensively current and popular. It was then taken up by poets and satirists of different countries, and received from each some accession, change or improvement. The earliest Dutch, English and French editions are said to be but skeletons of what afterwards became a body, first in the Low-German *Reineke de Fos*, and then in the numerous subsequent translations and editions, which received their character, in a great measure, from this.

Thus has this old fable or apologue become European, in two senses:—all the nations of Europe contributed to it, and all of them have enjoyed it. A writer in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1831,—Vol. VIII. p. 385,—remarks that, “among the Germans, *Reineke Fuchs* was long a house-book and universal best-companion: it has been lectured on in universities, quoted from in imperial council-halls; it lay on the toilets of princes and was thumbed to pieces on the bench of the artisan. Neither was its popularity confined to home; translations appeared in French, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, English: nor was that same stall-honor, which has been reckoned the truest literary celebrity, refused it here.” It may be regarded, then, as a “world’s book,” which, through several centuries, was every where at home, and the sentiments of which diffused themselves into all languages. Its quaint *Æsopic* figures have painted themselves in innumerable minds, and have exerted their influence in moulding their thoughts, for good or for evil.

Such are the considerations which constitute the importance of this remarkable production, while the shrewdness and wit which it displays will account for the attention it has attracted in different countries, the learning which has been expended in its elucidation, and the space it has occupied in the periodical literature of Europe. To many of our readers the history and incidents of this fable cannot be supposed to be wholly new. But to all, we trust, the account of it contained in the following review will be instructive as well as amusing.

“Whereby shall each to wisdom turn,  
Evil eschew and virtue learn:  
Therefore was this same story wrote,  
That is its aim, and other not.”

The writer adds, with a mixture of quaint and serious expressions, much more in accordance with the religious taste of other times than of the present,—

“So endeth Reynard Fox’s story:  
God help us all to heavenly glory!”

In preparing the following article for our miscellany, we have somewhat abridged that portion of it which relates to the date of the poem, by omitting several concurring testimonies quoted by the reviewer in support of the conclusions to which he has arrived.—*Sr. Ed.*

From the British and Foreign Review for April, 1840.

1. *Reinaert de Vos, naer de oudste Beryming, door* (Reynard the Fox, according to the oldest berhyming rhymes, by) J. F. WILLEMS. Small 8vo. Eecloo, 1834.
2. *Reinaert de Vos, Episch Fabeldicht van de Twaelfde en Dertiende Eeuw, met Aenmerkingen en Ophelderingen, van* (Reynard the Fox, an Epic-Fable-Poem of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with Annotations and Explanations by) J. F. WILLEMS, Member of the Royal Academy of Brussels, of the Royal Netherland Institution, &c. 8vo. Ghent, 1836.
3. *Le Roman du Renard, traduit pour la première fois d'après un texte Flamand du XIIe Siècle, édité par J. F. Willems; augmenté d'une Analyse de ce qu'ont écrit, au sujet des Romans Français du Renard, Legrand d'Aussy, Robert, Reynouard, Saint-Marc Girardin, Prosper Marchand, &c.* (The Romaunt of the Fox, now first translated from the text of a Flemish MS. of the Twelfth Century, edited by J. F. Willems, enlarged by an Analysis of what has been written concerning the French Romaunts of the Fox, by Legrand d'Aussy, etc. etc.); by OCTAVE DELEPIERRE, Advocate, Archivist of West Flanders, Member of the Ghent Royal Society of the Fine Arts and Literature, &c. 8vo. Brussels, 1838.

WE must introduce our notice of the volumes before us by a few observations upon the actual condition of the Flemish language and literature in Belgium, respecting which a change has occurred within the last few years, that can hardly be uninteresting, at least in reference to its political causes and effects, to those who would be loath to see France again increase her population and her power by extending her limits as far as the Rhine.

The British public cannot have forgotten the strong Gallic tendencies prevalent throughout Belgium at the epoch of the revolution which severed that country from Holland; tendencies so strong, as even to have produced, at least in the Walloon provinces, a desire for reincorporation with France, a longing for participation in the advantages enjoyed by the members of a large, a preponderant state, in preference to national independence. These French propensities, which, we have been assured upon good authority, were fostered by the Catholic clergy as preventives against the contagion of Dutch Protestantism, naturally gave birth to a contemptuous dislike of the old Flemish language, a form of Low-German nearly identical with Dutch; or rather, perhaps, encouraged and continued feelings and opinions that had arisen during the subjection of the Netherlands to France.

But when the independence of the kingdom of Belgium had been generally recognized, when all motives for fear or jealousy of Holland had died away, the German sovereign of the new state, and his enlightened and patriotic Belgian counsellors, quickly perceived that the real dangers threatening this independence lay in the ambition of a large and militarily formidable, not of a small mercantile people; to wit, in French regretful

aspirations after the Rhine as the boundary of France. . They perceived that these dangers were not to be averted by an alliance with the royal family of France, and that to ensure the stability of Belgian independence, Belgian nationality must be rather Teutonic than Gallic; and indeed, in point of fact, so it is and ever has been; the majority of the population being of the Teutonic race. We have seen a table in which the population is thus divided according to origin and language; for it must be remembered that even where the higher classes speak French, the lower orders have steadily adhered to their mother-tongue. Flemish and German are still the popular languages in French Flanders and Alsace, respectively, long as these provinces have now formed part of France.

## LOW-GERMAN PROVINCES.

	Population.
Flanders . . . . .	1,203,000
Antwerp . . . . .	380,000
Brabant, with the ex- } ception of Nyvel }	684,000
Part of Luxemburg .	127,500
	<hr/> 2,394,500

## WALLOON PROVINCES.

	Population.
District of Nyvel . .	97,000
Hainault . . . . .	530,000
Namur . . . . .	180,000
Liège : . . . . .	314,000
Part of Luxemburg .	127,500
	<hr/> 1,248,500

Actuated, we apprehend, by these considerations, king Leopold, some five or six years since, turned the sunshine of royal favor and patronage upon those learned Low-German Belgians, who, with Heer Willems at their head, had, even whilst their country was nominally French, shared in the European impulse towards nationality and national archæology, heretofore noticed as a potent motive and cause of the literary revolutions of the current century; and labored, then of course unsuccessfully, to rekindle in their countrymen a love for, and culture of the Flemish language and literature. Under this genial influence, Flemish Literary Societies have been formed; even the long-forgotten *Rhetorykcammers* (Chambers of Rhetoric), a kind of academic institution which once flourished in every town and village of the Netherlands, are reviving; prizes have been, and are daily offered by these societies and by the king himself, for Flemish essays upon the Flemish language, for Flemish poems upon various subjects, chiefly national and patriotic, etc., etc. And the result of all this actively stimulating patronage is, that Flemish writers, in every branch of literature, are arising on all sides, in all parts of the kingdom.

Our readers may perhaps wonder, that whilst so much of novelty offers in Belgium, we should bring before them, instead of some new work of some one of these nascent authors, a production of the middle ages, which, such of them as chance to be unacquainted with the labors and the European reputation of the profoundly erudite German Professor, Jacob Grimm, with the very name of the learned Fleming, J. F. Willems, who is emulously treading in his footsteps, and even with those of the critical French archæologists, Reynouard, Legrand d'Ausay, etc., may consider as a mere childish fable or old wife's tale. Our reason for this is twofold; in the first



place, that these authors are, as we have said, nascent, the produce of the newly regenerated Flemish muse, though full of talent, though most satisfactory as to her future prospects, yet to our mind somewhat immature, perhaps somewhat deficient in skilful horticulture; and hence,—as it is only when of a very brilliant and striking description, or otherwise very importantly significative, that we deem the light literature of foreign countries entitled to divert our attention from the stirring interests of the day,—we are disposed to allow the said muse to make further progress in her education and development ere we present her to the British public; and this the rather, because without bringing forward her early fruits,—shall we say, blossoms?—we have here found the opportunity we have for some time desired, of making the Belgian intellectual revolution, now in progress, known in this country.

Our second reason, which would alone have been all-sufficient, is the high value we set upon the old poem here newly collated, edited, commented, modernized and translated, that has afforded this opportunity. To persons acquainted with the labors, we might say, with the reputation of the erudite persons above-mentioned, or with the strong interest that has been excited in the continental learned world concerning Reynard the Fox, it is needless to add a word respecting its literary and antiquarian dignity. To those who are not, it may be satisfactory to learn the opinion entertained upon the subject by our own celebrated antiquary, Thomas Hearne, who, in his notes *ad Gulielmi Neubrigensis Historiam Anglicanam*, p. 743, says :

*Reynard the Fox* was one of the first things printed in England, being done by the famous William Caxton, in the year 1481. It was an admirable thing; and the design, being political, and to represent a wise government, was equally good; so little reason is there to look upon this as a poor, despicable book \* \* \* \*. But it is strange to see the changes that have been made in the book of Reynard the Fox, from the original editions.

When the reader shall have perused our brief abstract of the poem, he will perhaps think that one of these changes is from the representation of a wise government to a satire upon a weak one.

That the story or poem of Reynard the Fox is extant in the Swedish, Danish, English and Latin languages, as well as in High and Low German and French, adds not much to its dignity; since it is evident that all nations, except one, must probably have translated or borrowed it. But the question whether this one, the original Reynard, were German, High or Low, or French, has given rise to much speculation and controversy upon the continent. The literary pride of the nations laying claim to it is aroused, and deeply interested in the decision, which can hardly be deemed a matter of indifference to scholars and archæologists, to critics and poets of other, and of all countries.

The age or date of the poem itself is, however, one of more general interest. Reynard the Fox has, by different critics, been ascribed to the

10th and to the 13th, as also to every intermediate century. Upon both these points we shall offer our readers extracts from the reasonings of the Flemish editor,—confining our notice to him, partly because we are writing of Flemish literature in Belgium; but mainly because he is the latest commentator, and deeply conversant with the arguments of all his predecessors. In the introduction to the second book, named at the head of this article, Heer Willems says:

No nation in the world has ever shown more care of cattle and domestic animals than the Franks. This is abundantly proved by almost every page of Charlemagne's Capitularies.\* It cannot therefore be matter of surprise that amongst them should first arise a species of animal fable, the prototype of which would be sought in vain amongst other nations; of which Grimm says: There is nothing that can stand a comparison with it. The fulness of its germination and development surpasses every production of antiquity in the line of fable. Unfolding bud out of bud, with the whole energy of the epopœia, it blossomed upon the German stock, in the Netherlands, in Northern France (French Flanders, and the circumjacent region), and Western Germany. In fact where else can such poems be produced as the *Isengrimus*, the *Reinardus vulpes*, and the *Reinaert*, all three the growth of Flemish soil? \* \* \*

What other poets have ever ventured to compose a continuous tale, of which the subject was taken from the brute creation; of which the wolf and the fox were the principal personages, ay, the heroes, opposing each other in hatred and revenge, like Agamemnon and Achilles in the Iliad; which exemplifies epic unity so admirably, combined with episodic variety, whilst all the acting animals so thoroughly maintain and display their natural qualities and dispositions, that the poem is perused with an interest such as would be excited by a true history? And a poem of this description first appeared amongst the Belgians, both in the Flemish and the Latin language!

\* \* \* \* \* Great diversity of opinion exists with respect to the age of the *Reinardus vulpes*. Mone, the editor of the Latin version, holds this *Carmen Epicum*, as it is entitled, to have been partly composed in the ninth century, partly augmented and interpolated in the twelfth, but neither Grimm nor Reynouard will admit this opinion, considering the whole as a work of the twelfth century. I shall not decide this point;†

\* It will be recollected that the Franks are supposed to have been a Low-German tribe, and that the Carlovingsians were a Netherland family, with large domains, extending pretty nearly from Liège to the frontier of Holland.

† We might here very satisfactorily shame the diffident Heer Willems, and actually overwhelm the reader with antiquarian lore and critical reasoning; with the titles of all the various versions, editions and even known MSS. of our poem, including a recent discovery at Cambridge, nay, of contemporaneous Latin poems, lately discovered by Grimm, as the *Ecbasis*, etc., and with the profound disquisitions of yet more foreign, philosophical archæologists than have been incidentally named in our comments, extracts, or the title-page of one of the volumes under review. But actually to settle this question, nay, even to state

neither shall I examine the question whether the narration of Reynard's adventures be or be not built upon a historical foundation. The matter seems to me still somewhat obscure, although before reading the judiciously urged objections of Grimm, I was not disinclined to coincide with the ideas of Eccard, Mone, Etmüller, and Saint-Marc Girardin. Whether *Reinaert* be or be not held the representative of the Lotharingian Earl Reginarius, and Isengrim of Zwentebold, king of Austrasia, the Netherland origin of our fable no longer depends upon this historical conjecture, but rests upon other, better-assured foundations: Leave we this point undisturbed, and pass to that which requires notice in the Flemish *Reinaert*.

It is very likely that the fable of the Fox and the Wolf might be current here even before the ninth century, in the form of a legend or of a popular song; but the poem, in the form in which we are here considering it, appears to have been first written in the second moiety of the twelfth century, probably about the year 1170, save and except that in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some alterations, of which we shall speak hereafter, were made in it. All circumstances concur to fix this epoch. And thus should *Reinaert* be the oldest known poem in our mother tongue, of which the Netherlanders may boast.

This hypothesis will perhaps appear unfounded to many persons, because no one has hitherto dared to think of a written Flemish language in the twelfth century, and Maerlant is generally esteemed, in the strictest acceptance of the words, the father of German\* poets altogether.

But let my arguments be heard, ere judgment be pronounced.

It will not be unsuitable to observe, preliminarily, that, according to my views, most Netherland poems of the middle ages are usually assigned to times far later than those to which they actually appertain. Thus, with the single exception of Maerlant, the contents of all MSS. of the fourteenth century have been deemed the production of that age, or, at the earliest, of the last moiety of the thirteenth century. Were this so, the French romances, composed about or before the year 1150, would not have been translated for a couple of hundred years! and Flanders, one of the most flourishing countries in Europe, under her Earls Dirk (Dietrich or Theodoric), and Philip of Alsace, at whose court the poetry of the *Trouvères* may be said to have been reared, this populous Flanders would not have had a single poet in her mother tongue to show previous to 1250! But that ours was earlier a written language, is apparent from a registration of the year 1130, published by Mone.

\* \* \* \* \*

The investigation of the evidence, as to the date of the *Reinaert*, gives occasion to the discussion of a question mooted by some of these commen-

and compare all the different speculations and their grounds, of all these learned, diligent inquirers, would require a treatise,—not an article in a review; wherefore we shall content ourselves with awakening the attention of the British public to this curious subject, and recommending it to the investigation of our own antiquarian scholars.

\* Meaning, we presume, Low-German, although we are not aware that the obsolete Flemish word *Dietsce* was other than the old form of the modern *Duitsch*, i. e. German.

tators and by historians; to wit, whether the names by which two Flemish factions were distinguished in the very beginning of the thirteenth century, when the popular party were called *Blaeuwvoeters*, and the court party *Isengrimmers*, were taken from the family names of their respective leaders, or from the animal heroes of our poem? Without entering at any length into this inquiry, we may say that, according to the result of Heer Willem's diligent researches, no names affording such derivative appellations, are to be found amongst those of the Netherland nobility or of the leading demagogues, whilst some explanation of the singular name of *Blaeuwvoeters*, *anglice* blue feet, which is not known to have been ever borne by the fox in the Low Countries, is supplied by his name of *blufot* in the Swedish and Danish languages. If this argument be admitted as conclusive, the fact is curious, as illustrating both the extensive popularity of the poem so far back as the year 1201, and the early prevalence of the Netherland practice of giving whimsical emblematic names to their factions. Of this we subjoin an instance or two about a century later: when Philip the Fair of France was struggling to subjugate Flanders, and convert it into an apanage for the princes of his blood, his Flemish partisans were called *Leliaerts*, from the lily in the arms of France, whilst the adherents of the native princes designated themselves more fantastically, *Clauveverts*, as we conceive, from a claw of the lion, the bearing of Flanders. Holland supplies a more ludicrous example of this custom, in the denominations (appropriate enough to a country of fishermen, which it then was) of *Kabbeljaauws en Hoeks* (codfish and hooks) taken respectively by the partisans of a countess regnant and her rebellious son, to intimate, according to the Dutch historian van Kampen's explanation, that the first would swallow up their opponents as the codfish devours the small fry of the ocean, and that the second knew how to catch the former.

The age of the MSS. extant affords, as has been already stated by Willems, no data for that of the poem itself, the oldest of these, the Comburg MS., now in the Stuttgart library, not being esteemed of higher antiquity than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

\* \* \* \* \*

With respect to the old poet, Willem, who announces himself in the opening of the poem, as the *maker* (author) of Madok, and the completer of the adventures of Reynard the Fox, his modern editor, Willems, says:

I have elsewhere shown, I think satisfactorily, that the oldest Flemish *Reinaert* (I mean the first 3394 lines, which make an indivisible whole, bearing, as Grimm says, a completely Flemish color,) was not written by Willem. What he thought *not right written* in the old poem, he improved and filled out; but what he thought left imperfect at the conclusion, in order to make known the whole life and adventures of *Reinaert*, he supplied from *Walsche* (Walloon), that is to say, French books.

The Low-Saxon translation, *Reineke*, and the old prose impressions of Gouda 1479, and Delft 1485, have not the prologue, beginning at the 41st line; which makes it probable that this introduction may have been an addition of later times.\* \* \* There is, in this prologue, a double commencement, intimating a double object. Willem declares at its very



opening, that he undertakes his task "because it grieved him much" to see so much wanting to the history of *Reinaert*: whilst twenty-six lines afterwards, appears another declaration, probably by the original (or at least an earlier) poet, that he only therefore *made the adventures of Reinaert*, because a certain lady of great courtesy prayed him so to do; otherwise he had been silent.

\* \* \* \* \*

But who was Willem? A man who *made Madok and many books*, says his prologue; and, from many passages, evidently an ecclesiastic: in all likelihood, therefore, Willem Utenhove of Aerdenburg in Flanders, a contemporary of Maerlant, who thus speaks of him:

"Promised I have  
A tale of beasts to poetize;  
Yet will I first know in what guise

Has Master Willem Utenhove,  
A priest well-famed, whom all approve,  
Of Erdenborg such poem made," &c.

\* \* \* \* \*

That the second book of *Reinaert* is a continuation, and, for the most part, an imitation of the first, cannot well be doubted. The conduct is completely the same; the holding of a high court, accusation, summoning, confession, arrival at court, defence, reconciliation. That it is the work of a different poet, is equally indisputable. It contains different expressions, different turns of phraseology, \* \* \* and many more proverbs. The lion is called *Lioen*, instead of *Noble*, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

We trust that our readers are by this time fully satisfied of the justice, or at the very least, the plausibility of the claim advanced by our Belgian friends, to perhaps the oldest poem extant in any modern language. The High German *Nibelungen Lied*, at least in the form in which we possess it, does not pretend to so high an antiquity by some quarter of a century at least. We now therefore feel ourselves at liberty to proceed to our account of the poem itself. Yet ere we do so, we are irresistibly tempted to give, from the preface to Willem's modernized version, the opinion entertained of *Reinaert* by that great authority, Jacob Grimm.\* In reading Willem's intervening ejaculations, it is to be recollected that they were written prior to the new birth of Flemish literature.

Our Flemish *Reinaert* surpasses all other poems of this name; and "deserves," Grimm says, "the first rank, both for its plan and its execution.† In it, the whole, clad in graceful, suitable language, proceeds by a regulated course, combined with ever-increasing interest from the beginning to the end. All the incidents are therein as intimately connected as in true history." Wonderfully correct and well maintained are, above all, the characteristic actions of the animals. In a word, *Reinaert* is, with the exception of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, by far the

\* We have given our reasons for quoting Grimm himself only through Willems.

† Hoffman, in the Introduction to his new edition of *Reineke Vos*, of 1834, would deduct something from this eulogy of the Flemish text, for the benefit of his own. But he adduces no satisfactory proofs.

best poem that the middle ages have given to Europe. And this poem is a Belgian poem! And the Belgians know it not! And Germans are wanted to bring it to light! "The Belgians," says Grimm, "have the greatest interest in the *Reinaert*; but who," he thus proceeds, "has seen in them, this many an age, either attachment to, or care for their mother-tongue? Deep self-forgetfulness ever produces its own punishment: from the fair Belgic region, where in the middle ages minstrelsy dwelt, all poetry has long vanished!"

We now at length proceed to the poem; and, passing over the already mentioned prologue of old Willem, give what may be supposed to have been the original opening,—unless we ascribe only the first twenty-six lines to the continuator and take the subsequent portion of the prologue as belonging to the original poet. The reader will bear in mind, that, although taken from two different MSS., the three volumes before us are all—old, modern and French—versions of the work of Willem Utenhove. We translate from the modernized Flemish version:—the French is in prose, and poetry turned into prose is to us antipathetic as toad or snake.

It was merry Whitsuntide:  
Wood and forest, far and wide,  
Spring's green livery did sport;  
When King Noble to his court  
Call'd, a solemn court to make,  
All he could from field, wood, brake.  
Most obey'd the King's command,  
Great and small, a motley band.  
Reynard Fox, a trickster base,  
Shunn'd alone his sov'reign's face:  
His misdeeds so num'rous were  
That he durst not show him there.

Conscious guilt avoids the light,  
Such was Reynard Fox's plight;  
Thence to court he seldom came,  
And that brought him evil fame.  
When the court was right array'd,  
All, except the badger, made  
Loud complaints, strong language us'd;  
Red-hair'd Reynard all aceus'd.  
Hark to one amidst the din!  
Isengrim, with all his kin,  
Audience of King Noble seeks;  
Isengrim, the wolf, thus speaks.

The wolfe's harangue we cannot translate. Nevertheless, his complaint being the essential groundwork of the poem, the offence against him being the crime, *par excellence*, constituting the very pivot of the plot, it is indispensable that we should impart its nature to our readers; and this we shall do with the utmost decorum, that is to say, the utmost of which the case admits. Reynard is accused of having caught his aunt, the wolfe's wife, the beautiful dame Hersinde, in some kind of trap, that rendered her perfectly helpless, and then dishonored her; and of having subsequently committed such further insults towards her and her husband in the persons of their children, that two of the young wolf-cubs had ever since remained irremediably blind. Cortois (Courteous?), the dog, next charges Reynard with having robbed him of a sausage; and Panser, the beaver, tells how he had seen Reynard about to devour Cuwaert (Coward?) the hare, whilst pretending to teach him to sing mass, when he had himself rescued the intended victim.

Tibert, the cat, and Grimbert, the badger, plead in behalf of Reynard; Grimbert, his nephew, urging that Hersinde's dishonor was voluntary on her part, and even habitual, she being passionately enamored of Reynard; and that if he, the fox, has sinned, he has since repented, turned hermit, and far from having designed to eat the hare, has vowed

never again to taste of flesh-meat. Even whilst the badger is pleading, Chanticleer, the cock, is seen descending the hill, preceded by two of his children,—we think daughters,—who carry a bier, upon which lies his lifeless daughter, Coppe, the pullet, just murdered by Reynard, and accompanied by two of his sons. Chanticleer comes to make his complaint to king Noble, and tells how his eight sons and seven daughters, all hatched in one brood, by his wife Rode the hen, had lived happily in a walled park, where the dogs who guarded them had successfully resisted all Reynard's attempts at invasion, until by craft he had eluded their vigilance and effected his nefarious purpose.

He as hermit came, Oh King!  
When the murd'rous thief did bring  
Letters with your signet seal'd.  
These I read, and they reveal'd  
How our comfort to increase,  
Wisely you proclaim'd your peace,  
Giving bird and beast command  
To observe't throughout your land.  
Then, again false Reynard spoke,  
"Having with the world now broke,  
Sever'd from its joys and state,  
To God only dedicate,  
Barefoot, I in cloister'd cell  
Expiating past sins will dwell."  
Show'd his staff, brought from Elmare,\*  
Cowl, cord, garment of horsehair.  
"God be thank'd, Sir Chanticleer,"  
Said he, "I, with this world's geer  
Now have done; you'll never hear  
More of my bold thievery.  
Flesh nor fat are now for me.  
Old, and tired of life's turmoil,  
Fits it I my soul assail.  
I shall live for heav'n alone :—  
*Tecum pax!* I must be gone;  
I've no leisure here to bide;  
Morning, noon, and eventide,  
I my breviary must say."  
Reynard went, and I was gay.  
Mut'ring through the wood he crept,  
Whilst my heart with pleasure leapt,  
Thinking our worst dangers o'er.  
To my family I bore  
This glad news, and led them free  
Past our park walls;—woe is me!  
For the fox, with many a wile,

Stole through thickets to beguile,  
Intercepting our retreat.  
On a chicken, young, fair, sweet,  
Then his hands I saw him lay,  
And with mock'ry bear away.  
Death now threat'ning all I saw,  
For in his insatiate maw  
Was my child so dainty found,  
That no watchman, nor staunch hound  
Longer could our lives protect.  
King! my sufferings respect!  
Whetted thus his appetite,  
Reynard comes, by day, by night,  
On my children to regale.  
Daily I behold them fail!  
From fifteen to only four  
They're reduc'd by th' evermore  
Murd'rous hunger of that beast.  
Yesternight he thought to feast  
On my Coppe; but by force  
Our stout dogs regain'd her corse,  
Which upon this bier we bring.  
Yours, my cause, my vengeance, King!"  
"Grimbert, badger," Noble cries,  
"In a strange unwonted guise  
Does thine uncle keep his fast!  
But before the year be past,  
I shall teach his insolence  
Fasting true, and penitence!  
For thy daughter, Chanticleer,  
Foully murder'd who lies here,  
(May the Lord her soul receive!)  
None to her new life can give.  
We can do no more for her;  
Then with solemn rites inter."

The pullet is accordingly buried with all the church rites of that day,

\* A Flemish priory, dependant upon St. Peter at Ghent, founded A. D. 1144. We have said, we wish not to argue upon the age of the poem; but we must observe that merely incidental dates cannot prove it not to be anterior to the year thus specified, as nothing is more probable than the insertion or change of the name of a place by an improver of a tale. But they may prove it not to be posterior, because the poet of those days would alter for the sake of adaptation to existing feelings and circumstances; not, as in later times, to give an air of antiquity.

and her fate inscribed upon her marble monument. This done, king Noble summons the fox before him, to answer for his misdeeds. Bruin, the bear, boldly and arrogantly undertakes the office of summoner, defying Reynard to dupe him. The fox receives the bear and his message most submissively, and avers that he should have been even then at court, had not his journey been delayed by an illness, the consequence of his having fed upon honey, either through poverty, or as a viand appropriate to fasting. At the name of honey, Bruin's mouth waters; and with this bait, Reynard, after more and more exciting his appetite, lures him to plunge his head and fore paws deeply into a half-cloven stick of timber, in a carpenter's yard, whence he, the fox, immediately extracts the wedges. Our self-confident messenger is thus caught as in a trap, whence he only extricates himself at the price of tearing off the skin of his head and fore-feet, his claws, one ear, and part of his cheeks. In this melancholy condition he is compelled to fly, cruelly belabored, and further endangered by the carpenter and his family, whom his cries and exertions have aroused.

Thus, half-dead, Bruin, with great difficulty, crawls, rolls and slides back to court. His leonine majesty's wrath increases at the sight of his ill-used messenger; and Tibert, the cat, undertakes the hazardous office in which the bear has failed. Him, despite their kindred and friendship, the fox similarly leads into a snare, by the promise of a granary full of mice. The circumstances of the cat's engagement with the village priest and his family are of those that cannot be detailed; suffice it therefore to say, that Tibert, the cat, returns to court, less personally injured, indeed, than Bruin, the bear; but like him, deluded, affronted and baffled; thus, yet further inflaming king Noble's rage.

The badger now undertakes the adventure, and acquits himself of his commission, rather as a friend of the culprit than as an officer of justice. He, however, convinces his uncle of the absolute necessity of his appearing at court, there to justify himself; and they set forward. Upon the road Reynard desires to relieve his conscience by confession to his nephew. He tells a tale of knavery and licentiousness; and Grimbert, after inflicting a few slight strokes with a twig gathered for the nonce, and enjoining penitence and reformation, gives him absolution,—in virtue of what authority does not appear.

At court Reynard presents himself boldly, asserting his perfect innocence. All the animals, however, urge their several wrongs; justice prevails; and king Noble orders the offender to be forthwith hanged. Isengrim, Bruin and Tibert proceed hurriedly to erect the gallows; and whilst they are thus employed, Reynard contrives to excite the cupidity of the monarch and his queen by a story of his father's having found king Ermenrik's treasure; the secret receptacle of which at Hulsterloo is known only to himself. A promise to deliver up this treasure procures credence to another trumped-up tale of a treasonable conspiracy, and in the end, his pardon. But as he has been excommunicated these three years, on account of a trick played the wolf in a monastery, he announces his purpose of undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome, there to obtain absolution. He



equips himself, indeed, in a fashion that might have awakened mistrust in a wise sovereign, demanding the skin of the fore-paws of Isengrim and Hersinde for shoes, and a piece of Bruin's back for his scrip.

But Noble, although he too appears to have had cause of complaint against the fox, somewhat analogous to the wolf's, is credulous. With his whole court, the king accompanies the feigned pilgrim at his departure for a short space, sending the priestly Belyn, the ram, and Cuwaert, the hare, to escort him home; whither he desires to go prior to so long a journey.

Arriving at castle Malpertuis, his residence, the fox persuades the ram to await him a minute or two without, and the hare to accompany him in-doors, in order to see him take leave of his wife and children. He there murders the hare, and the family dine upon their guest. The next matter is to get rid of Belyn without exciting his suspicions. For this purpose Reynard returns to him, says that Cuwaert is still consoling dame Hermelyn, who, though recovered from her fainting fit, remains in great affliction; and asks whether Belyn will carry his letters to court, the king having charged him to write. Again we translate:

"Reynard," said the ram, "I know  
Not where letters to bestow."  
Reynard answered, "I'll equip  
My kind postman with this scrip,  
Which my pilgrimage should deck;  
This I'll hang about thy neck.  
Now my messenger wilt be?"  
Belyn answer'd, "Willingly."  
Reynard hied him back in haste;  
Took his leathern scrip, and plac'd  
Deep within it Cuwaert's head:  
Laughing, then return'd, and said,  
Whilst the burden he secur'd

Round the ram's neck, "If assur'd  
Of king Noble's favor high  
Thou wouldst be, permit no eye  
These despatches to behold,—  
Hidden in the inmost fold  
Of my scrip,—till, as is meet,  
Laid before the monarch's feet.  
Further—dost thou Noble love?  
Wouldst be honor'd from above?  
Say thou didst the letters write,  
Counselling what to indite;  
Royal thanks shall pay thy pain;  
Royal favor's hard to gain!"

The Comburg MS., which Willems has modernized, here ascribes to the ram only a word of assent, leaving the whole of the discourse to the fox. The Dutch MS., purchased at Heber's sale is here, we think, more dramatic, and we continue the dialogue from the old version; from which we may again borrow what we deem a heightening touch, without always stating the change.

Joyously up sprang the sheep:  
"I at court shall praises reap  
When I shall be known to write  
Handsome words and praises bright;  
Which indeed I cannot do."

"But say, Reynard, will the hare

Back with me to court repair?"  
"No," said Reynard, "not so soon,  
He shall go to-morrow noon;  
I must tell him many a thing  
Much importing to the king.  
Whilst thy letters hurry need."  
Then the ram bade God him speed.

The fox departs with his family to seek safety in the wilderness; whilst his silly, and not over honest dupe makes all haste to court.

Belyn when king Noble spied,  
And that round his neck was tied  
That same wallet, lately ta'en

From Sir Bruin's back with pain;  
Greatly wondering, cried he,  
"Belyn, whence so hurriedly?"

Where's the fox? Why did he strip  
 From his neck that pilgrim scrip?"  
 Belyn answer'd, "Every thing  
 Known by me, to you, oh king,  
 To disclose is mine intent.  
 Reynard, ere from home he went,  
 Ask'd, would I a letter bear,  
 Which for you he must prepare?  
 I replied, that for your sake  
 Seven I would gladly take.  
 Then, when I should leave his place,  
 Seeing I'd no letter-case,  
 He his scrip to hold them gave.  
 King, perchance you never have  
 Of a scribe more able heard:  
 Of these letters ev'ry word  
 Has been dictated by me.  
 Pleasing to you may they be!  
 But be good or ill the price,  
 Reynard follow'd my advice."  
 Noble, scant in writing skill'd,  
 Botsaert,\* who a clerk's place fill'd,  
 Summon'd, Botsaert, best who knew  
 Book-craft of the courtly crew.

Botsaert now was bade to read  
 Reynard's letters with all speed.  
 Botsaert with Bruinael the goose  
 Flew the burthen to unloose  
 From the ram's neck; they undid  
 The dark scrip wherein lay hid  
 Belyn's hopes, so falsely bred.  
 Botsaert thence drew forth the head:  
 Cried, "Good heav'n! What may this  
 mean?  
 Never was such letter seen!  
 King, by mine own art I swear  
 'T is the head of Cuwaert hare!  
 Oh! how deeply am I griev'd  
 That false Reynard you believ'd!"  
 Noble stood, confus'd, amaz'd;  
 And the queen her voice uprais'd,  
 Shrieking as she frantic were.  
 Noble's head in gloomy care  
 Hung adown; when he once more  
 Lifted it, so dread a roar  
 Burst from out his throat, the sound  
 Terrified the beasts around."

At this line our able editor conceives the original Flemish poem to have ended, and the remainder to be the portion to which old Willem alludes, when he speaks of having compiled his work from French original. He fixes upon this line, because in the very next paragraph, which introduces a new character, the leopard, king Noble is, for the first time, named by his French designation of king Lioen, a form of the word lion, by the way, which could hardly be derived from the Flemish *leeuw*. Nevertheless, Heer Willem's own modern Flemish version of the old poem is prolonged by some eighty lines, as in the first book of the old version by near a hundred: and we proceed with our translation.

Then the leopard Fira Peel  
 Forward sprang; he, wont to feel  
 Bold because of royal blood,  
 Brav'd the monarch's wrathful mood.  
 "Why, lord lion king, such groans?  
 Scarcely deeper were your moans  
 Though your queen herself were dead.  
 Check your sorrow, raise your head,  
 And your wisdom's might reveal."  
 Said the king, "Sir Fira Peel,  
 Of mine honor I'm bereav'd,  
 For so weakly I believ'd

That false traitor to my state.  
 Rightfully myself I hate!  
 With mine honor, erst so bright,  
 I have lost two friends of might.  
 Bruin bold and Isengryn\*  
 Has a marm'ring pilgrim's spleen  
 Robbed me of. My heart 't will break!  
 Of my life, an end 't will make!"  
 Fira Peel replied, "I will  
 Own therein you have done ill,  
 But can expiate your misdeed,  
 Instant from their chains be freed

\* The editor states in a note, that he cannot discover in any text what animal Botsaert is; but conjectures him to be a bird, and that bird the buzzard. The old version does not say either what animal Bruinael is; and Willems does not state his authority for calling him the goose. We decide that he is the ass, *Brunellus*.

† Heer Willems here spells the name thus, its usual form in the old version, after generally spelling it Isengrim; but gives no reason for the change. Must we guess, because he so needed it for the rhyme? That motive determined us to imitate him.

Isengryn and Bruin bear,  
Also dame Hersinde the fair:  
And their suff'rings and lost skin  
Recompense with ram Belyn.  
He deserves it!—He confess'd  
Reynard follow'd his behest  
In the murder of this day.

Cuwaert since he could betray,  
He has sinn'd.—Death is his due.  
Reynard then we'll all pursue,  
We must take him presently.  
On some tree then hang him high  
Without trial, as is just!"

King Lion acknowledges that such an arrangement would greatly mitigate his regret; and Fira Peel hastens away to release the captives (they had been imprisoned in reliance upon Reynard's story of a treasonable conspiracy), and negotiate a treaty of reconciliation with them. This he accomplishes at the expense of Belyn, the ram, his family, and his whole race, whom he delivers up to the will and pleasure of the bear and the wolf, from that time forward until doomsday; whereupon the Belgic French translator makes the very new remark, *Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*.

The Comburg MS. ends here, as does Heer Willem's modernized *Rein-aert*. But the reader is aware that the old Flemish version of the poem, edited by that gentleman, is from the Dutch MS., as it is called, and that it is from this version that our French prose translation is made. Both of these therefore give us the continuation, or second book; and these will henceforward engross our attention, although we purpose to despatch this less ancient and less original portion more succinctly.

The first book contains four additional lines, announcing twelve days' prolongation of the king's high court, in honor of the reconciliation effected with Bruin, Isengrim and Hersinde. The second book opens in the midst of these twelve days, and shows the efficacy of the leopard's measures for the relief of the royal conscience, if not for the tranquillity of his majesty's kingdom and the safety of his liege subjects. We find the king, queen and court in a course of music, dancing, feasting and merry-making in general: but the revels are interrupted by fresh complaints of the incorrigible fox. The rabbit and the crow present themselves to charge Reynard, the first with having attempted to devour him, the second with having actually devoured his wife, that very day. And here we find characteristic marks of a later age, in the sort of little reasonings and axioms occasionally introduced. The crow, for instance, thus concludes his harangue to the monarch. We must observe that in the old version the metre is not, as in the modern, regularly trochaic, wherefore we take the liberty of here adopting the easier iambic octosyllabic measure.

Your laws if you will see neglected,  
Yourself at last will be rejected.  
The prince who does not punish sin,

Partner himself becomes therein.  
Each to be master then will seek;  
Lord king, remember what I speak.

King Lion's anger revives with even additional intensity. He roars yet more tremendously than upon the former occasion, lays all the blame upon his queen, to whose advice, the offspring of covetousness, he should not have listened, and orders an army to be ready in six days for besieging Malpertuis. His directions for the equipment of this army include blunderbusses and bombards, thus making the date of this later part of the poem

to be posterior to the invention of these instruments of destruction. Grimbert hurries off with the alarming intelligence to Malpertuis, where, notwithstanding the flight to the wilderness announced in the first book, we still find Reynard and his family. The fox again resolves to go to court and clear himself by his address. Upon the road he confesses himself as before to the badger, and his confession includes another trick, previously unknown to the reader, played upon the wolf. Grimbert, as before, absolves, but upbraids him; and Reynard justifies his conduct in a speech of about 140 lines, replete with sophistical casuistry and libertine excuses, that fill his hearer with admiration of his understanding. Upon reaching the court, Reynard, with his wonted effrontery, surveys the assembly, kneels to the king, and thus addresses him :

" May God, whose pow'r endures for aye  
Preserve my lord the king alway,  
And eke my lady, the fair queen,  
Granting them wisdom, well between  
The right and wrong sentence to give.  
For many a one on earth doth live  
Who bears a diff'rent outward show  
From what his inward soul doth know.  
I would to God the truth were clear,  
At cost of what I hold most dear!

To all your justice equal be!  
I ask no more. Enough for me!  
Let shame upon the guilty fall!  
I soon must be well known to all.

I cannot flatter, fawn and lie,  
But must an honor'd front bear high."

Those who within the palace were  
Could but in silent wonder stare,  
So boldly hearing Reynard plead.  
The monarch answer'd, " Though  
indeed,  
Reynard thy fallacies sound well,  
These falsehoods vainly dost thou tell.  
I am resolv'd this very day  
Thy neck for all thy crimes shall pay.

From Lampreel, rabbit and the crow,  
How well thou lovest us we know."

Upon hearing the lion's angry words, the fox wishes himself rather at Cologne than where he is, thus preserving, even in the French portion, the Low-German locality. He, however, boldly pleads his cause, misrepresents the stories of the rabbit and the crow, tells a long tale about his uncle Martin, the ape, advocate of the bishop of Cambray, and is beginning to feel triumphant, when the king brings forward the matter of Belyn and Cuwaert. Fear now succeeds to confidence; but dame Rukenu, the monkey, his aunt, and wife to Martin, wise, prudent, courageous, energetic, and the queen's favorite, takes up the cause. She quotes Scripture, and reminds king Lion of the benefit he had often derived from Reynard's wit; especially in a cause between a man and a serpent, that had perplexed every body else. The man, it appears, had released the serpent from a noose, upon his solemn promise never to harm him. The serpent afterwards, becoming hungry, wanted to kill and eat his benefactor. Various arbitrators were appealed to by the man, but they chancing to be beasts and birds of prey, decided against him in hopes to share the banquet. He had then finally appealed to king Lion, who, utterly at a loss, had referred the question to Reynard; and this wily judge had observed that, in order to form a correct opinion, it would be requisite to see the parties in their original state, when the promise, which the serpent desired to break, had been made. The serpent, not quite in consonance with his established reputation for wisdom, had agreed; and when he had replaced his neck in the noose, Reynard had observed that now, neither



party having won or lost, the man might if he pleased again release the serpent upon his promise, or go about his own buisness, leaving him to his fate.

We have given this fable in some detail to show the different character of this book from that of the other, where we have no such stories within stories. Is not this an oriental style, and may it not have been introduced by the Crusaders? But we must hasten to conclude.

Dame Rukenau, supported by the queen, so far prevails, that Reynard is allowed to justify himself, respecting this new accusation. He immediately, with exclamations of horror, affects ignorance of the hare's death, and asserts that what he had entrusted to Belyn for the king and queen was a present of the rarest description; to wit, three jewels of inestimable value, both from their beauty and power as talismans. These he describes in upwards of 570 lines, great part of which are occupied with fables and stories explanatory of the images carved upon the imaginary jewels. He then reminds the king of other services that he has rendered, and is again confident of acquittal, when the wolf returns to the charge, and once more urges the outrage perpetrated upon Hersinde. This Reynard positively denies; alleging that he was kindly endeavoring to release the lady, and that Isengrim's jealousy had blinded him. In the end a combat in the lists between Reynard and Isengrim is appointed.

The fox is considerably disconcerted at the necessity of fairly encountering so formidable an antagonist, even weakened as the wolf is by the recent slaying of his fore-paws. But the friends and kindred of the fox assemble round him during the night, fortifying him with stolen poultry; and Dame Rukenau gives him advice for the combat, the only part of which that can possibly be communicated to readers of the present day, is to shave and grease his whole body, so as that it may afford the wolf no hold. To describe the duel is similarly out of the question. Suffice it to say that, by a series of dirty tricks, and sly attacks upon the most susceptible parts of the animal frame, Reynard conquers. He is of course acquitted; and returns in triumph to Malpertuis, accompanied by all his friends, and by many whose good will, real or apparent, his victory has gained him.

The poem concludes with a satire upon all conditions of men, emperor and pope included; all of whom, at least all who succeed in the world, are averred to do so by practising the arts of Reynard, which the French translator terms *Renardie*.

Heer Willem's volume of the old poem contains further, by way of appendix, the before mentioned poetical conundrum upon a name, a specimen of a Dutch Reynard, with a fable or two upon the same subject; a number of old, and of somewhat, though not much, more modern proverbs, relating to the fox and the wolf, and a portion of the old French *Roman du Renard*.

## ARTICLE V.

## KANT AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

*A Translation from an Article of M. V. Cousin in "La Revue des Deux Mondes," February, 1840.*

By the Junior Editor.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It must be admitted that Kant was a man of rare endowments. He distinguished himself in physics, natural history, physiology, history, philology, literature and the arts; he was a profound mathematician and astronomer. His countrymen claim that he anticipated several of the discoveries of Herschel. Few men have written so much, and fewer still, during so long a period. He began his career as an author in 1747, and closed it in 1803. During this interval he gave to the world seventy-five different productions of his pen. It was to metaphysics, however, that he devoted the energies of his matured and richly furnished mind. Dissatisfied with every existing system, it seemed to him that philosophy addressed him, in the words of Hecuba:

Modo maxima rerum  
Tot generis natisque potens, . . . .  
Nunc trahor exsul, inops.

He proceeded, therefore, with the zeal of a reformer. He thought himself invested with a high commission to break the shackles of mind, and enthroned philosophy as the queen of the sciences. The fruit of his labors he committed to the world, with the confidence of one who feels that he is the chosen minister of Truth.

It is now sixty years since the Critical Philosophy was first submitted to the judgment of a restless and inquiring age. Its merits are still undetermined; but its success has been much less complete than the sanguine author anticipated. In Germany, indeed, the new system soon gained the ascendancy; but elsewhere its progress was slow; and the Anglo-Saxon race have furnished but few disciples to the philosopher of Königsberg. The reason, it will be said perhaps, is obvious. The deep thinking German has been seldom understood, except by his reflective and speculating countrymen. If the Critical Philosophy were more intelligible, many would receive its doctrines, who now can neither believe nor disbelieve. But we strongly suspect, that the very mistiness, which invests the categories of Kant, has a fascinating influence on many minds. They are pleased with seeming to know what others do not know. If their Corypheus had always expressed himself in the dialect of other men, had simply "called a spade a spade," they might have thought his discoveries less numerous and less important.

The obscurity of Kant, we believe, is universally conceded. The confession of Dugald Stewart has been echoed by Britons and Americans, without number. "As to his works," he says, "I must fairly acknowledge, that, though I have frequently attempted to read them in the Latin edition, printed at Leipsic, I have always been forced to abandon the undertaking in despair; partly from the scholastic barbarism of the style, and partly from my utter inability to unriddle the author's meaning." We have nothing in the English language—whether translation, abridgment or commentary—that can be appealed to as a just exhibition of the Critical Philosophy. Oral expounders of the system have hitherto been unsuccessful.

Whence arises, we naturally inquire, all this perplexity and doubt? Is the difficulty inherent and incurable? Is the true and the only true philosophy so profound that ordinary minds can never hope to sound its depths? If so, the sooner we know it, the better, that we may resign to the elect few the mysteries of transcendentalism. But we cannot rid ourselves of a lurking suspicion, that when the mist shall clear away from these awful depths, they will not seem to be absolutely unfathomable. It was the sententious criticism—we believe of Lessing—respecting a certain book: "It contains much that is new, and much that is true; but the misfortune is, that the new is not true, and the true is not new." And when the mysteries of Kant's philosophy shall have been fully disclosed, the final verdict *may* be pronounced in language, similar though less severe. Dugald Stewart has observed: "Whenever I have happened to obtain a momentary glimpse of light, I have derived it, not from Kant himself, but from my previous acquaintance with those opinions of Leibnitz, Berkely, Hume, Reid and others, which he had endeavored to appropriate to himself, under the deep disguise of a new phraseology." An article in the Edinburgh Review, No. II., ascribed to Sir James Mackintosh, has this language: "The *egoism* of Berkeley and Hume is largely incorporated in his system, and combined with the opposing tenets of the school of Dr. Reid. If to the *common sense* of that school, we add the *innate susceptibilities* of Leibnitz, and the denial of Hume of the *necessary connection of causation and of the reality of external perception*, we bring before us the *theory of cognition* of Kant."

But whatever may be the merits of the Critical Philosophy, this tantalizing uncertainty ought to be resolved. If the system does, indeed, contain such mines of truth, as many suppose, let the spirits, which are groping for her hid treasures, be told whither to direct their steps. But if it is chiefly made up of old thoughts, presented anew in a mysterious and repulsive terminology, let us know it, that our minds may be at rest. The labors of M. Cousin, we hope, will contribute something to the removal of these doubts. He has commenced a series of articles in "La Revue des deux Mondes," in which he intends to analyze the sentiments—metaphysical and ethical—of the German philosopher. We can think of no living writer who is better qualified to become the faithful interpreter of the Critical Philosophy. A laborious and successful analyst of mental phenomena, perfectly at home in the history of intellectual science, with a power to detect and unfold the precise opinions of others which is no less felicitous than rare, with a style which is

beautifully lucid and graphic, if he shall fail to render Kant intelligible, we may well conclude that the case is hopeless.

This series of criticisms is still unfinished; and the writer's indefinite promise leaves the time of their completion altogether uncertain. The first article—the only one which we have seen—is mainly devoted to a consideration of the *method* of Kant, as contained in his Introduction to the Critique of the Pure Reason. It would be premature, we think, to exhibit this analysis, in its present imperfect state. When the series shall have become complete, we may present the result in a condensed form, either in the Eclectic, or the American Biblical Repository, with such comments as may seem to be necessary. We have concluded to give to our readers a portion of the article, retaining the original title, because of its intrinsic and independent merits. It is strictly an introduction to the analysis.

Those who are familiar with the writings of M. Cousin will recognize at once his peculiar style. There is probably no one who excels him in bold and successful generalization. He presents the characteristics of an age or a people, with the strong hand of a master. His pictures are remarkably distinct and lifelike. It will be seen, from the remarks already made, that we do not assent to all that he has said of Kant and his philosophy. But it ought not to be inferred that M. Cousin is a follower, much less a partisan of the German philosopher. He is himself the father of a system, and the head of a sect: of his metaphysical principles, of course, we are not required to express an opinion. While he admires the genius and honesty of Kant, and believes that there is much truth in the Critical Philosophy, he dissents from many of its positions. Indeed, in his Introduction to the History of Philosophy, he has unequivocally charged upon it a skeptical tendency.

Before we close this Note we must enter our formal protest against one feature of this article. We refer to the attempt which is made to class Locke and Condillac in the same school of philosophy. The sensualism of the Frenchman and his followers is a very different thing from the system of the English philosopher. For an admirable criticism on the injustice done to Locke in Cousin's Psychology, ascribed to Pres. Day, the reader is referred to the Christian Spectator, Vol. VII. p. 89.—Jr. Ed.

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Kant is the father of the German Philosophy. He is the author, or rather the instrument of the greatest revolution in philosophy, which has occurred in modern Europe, since the time of Descartes. But every revolution, worthy of the name, is the daughter of the age, and not of a man. The world is moving onward; but it is alike impossible to check and to hasten its march. To the philosophy of Kant there were two grand antecedents; the general spirit—the universal movement of Europe, and the particular spirit of Germany. The general spirit of Europe, at the close of the eighteenth century, is sufficiently understood. That epoch was characterized by a deep, mysterious agitation, which was the harbinger of a crisis near at hand. To the credulity of earlier times, a passionate



love of inquiry had succeeded, which was favorable to the discovery of truth. Reflection, applied to the investigation of human rights and duties, disclosed the emptiness of existing institutions; and men saw clearly the necessity of a complete renovation of the social system.

I must dwell, somewhat at length, on the condition of Germany before the time of Kant. But the history of a nation is essentially one; and, strictly speaking, it is almost impossible to understand the moral condition of Germany at the close of the eighteenth century, without some knowledge of the times which preceded and introduced this period. Hence, it is necessary that I should first present a hasty sketch of the history of German civilization, from its feeblest beginnings to the epoch of Kant's appearance, in order that we may fully comprehend the fundamental and abiding spirit of that great nation, to which he belonged, and whose representative he became.

I am firmly persuaded, that, however great the diversity of position assigned to our race, humanity is everywhere the same. No class of men has any pre-eminence in respect to truth, beauty, or happiness. Often has the influence of outward circumstances been surmounted and overcome, as well by governments and the institutions of society, for the public good, as by the select few, for their individual benefit. Those unqualified theories, which distribute liberty and slavery to this or that zone, are falsified by history. In a word, I believe that a common civilization belongs to the whole human family, in all parts of the world.

Still, it is no less true, that, while humanity itself is one, the forms which civilization assumes are very different, according to circumstances, according to time and place. The most striking diversity is that which is found to exist between a northern and a southern civilization. Northern and southern nations perceive the same truths, but perceive them differently. And this diversity is alike observable in poetry, religion, and political institutions. The same fortune attends philosophy; since philosophy is now the secret basis, and now the apex of these three grand developments of mind, and, indeed, their purest and loftiest representative. M. de Sismondi, in his elegant work on the Literature of the South of Europe, has traced the character of the poetry of Italy and Spain, in its connexion with the religious and political condition of these two countries. Following his example, we might point out the literary, political and religious characteristics which belong exclusively to the northern nations. It is abundantly manifest, from all the observations which have been hitherto made, that, while the man of the south and the man of the north are substantially the same, the former is more *expansive*, and the latter, in consequence of the impressions which outward circumstances make upon him, is more inclined to commune with his own spirit—lives more in himself.

Germany is that great northern plain, which is intersected by several large rivers, and separated from the rest of the world by natural barriers, seldom passed,—by the ocean and the Baltic, by the Carpathian mountains, the Tyrol and the Rhine. Within these limits there lives a people, speaking the same language, profoundly original, whose existence is but little affected by the influence of surrounding nations. The common feel-

ing, which holds together this numerous population, is the love of the inward life—the life of the imagination, of sentiment, of retired domestic thought. This feeling prefers revery to action, or combines the two, and borrows from the soul, from that which is ideal and invisible, the direction of the outward life, and the control of that which is real.

The history of this nation seems to divide itself into three grand eras. The first begins in the night of time and reaches to Charlemagne. The ancient memorials, condensed by Tacitus, acquaint us with the German colonies which spread themselves over a vast territory, occupied by them rather than fertilized. Accustomed to a nomadic life, constantly attacked but never subdued by the Romans, we see them in their forests, waiting for the hour when their foes should return to their own land, and they themselves should become the assailants. Up to the time when the northern nations became, in their turn, the conquerors, and somewhat later indeed, they had their own civilization, government, poetry and religion. Their polity consisted in recognizing none as their chiefs, in ordinary cases, except such as they had chosen; and in committing a power that was almost absolute to great physical and moral endowments. Hence, we find among them, at one time, the anarchy and impotence of a feeble, irresolute chief; at another, the despotism of a dexterous and successful warrior. Open the *Edda* and the *Nibelungen*; the most superficial perusal will detect a love of revery and profound reflection—now sombre, now elevated—which constantly reminds us, that the heroes and the bards of these old songs have never seen the sky of Italy or of Spain. It is in vain that they attempt to deal with the outward world; they always clothe it with forms borrowed from the inward life.

But this epoch has its philosophy—the philosophy of barbarians—vague and indefinite, because it is only an instinctive development, the fruit of spontaneity, and not of reflection, which alone creates a true philosophy. This primitive philosophy is religion. In the mythology of the *Edda* and the *Nibelungen*, the superiority of man over nature is everywhere affirmed; and thus we have a sort of philosophic theory. Sigurd, Siegfried and Attila, heroes of the north, laughed at the awe-inspiring phenomena of nature; delighted in the ocean tempest; sighed for a battle as a feast; sported with death as a friend; to a perfect contempt of life, joined a strong sense of moral obligation, and a relish for a love, infinitely more pure than that of southern nations. Here then, in the very cradle of Germany, we discover the fruitful germ of its subsequent philosophy.

During this first era, the North was pagan, warlike, poetical and free; but this form of German civilization began to degenerate with conquest. The nations of the north, having overleaped the barriers which separated them from the Gauls and from Italy, though intent on destroying the Roman form, were still obliged to preserve and retain a part. Many of the conquerors carried back to their own land their habits of conquest. A military despotism followed the victorious leaders, and became firmly fixed, by means of their services and their glory. Thus conquest always issues in despotism, as well for the victors as the vanquished. Soon the religion of the conquered supplanted that of the conquerors. Christian-

ity, with its worship, its self-denial and its charity, won the generous spirits of these barbarians, and, repassing, one by one, all the barriers which they had surmounted, finally penetrated to the heart of Germany. The Scandinavian and German mythology, attacked, at the same moment, by the sword, by science and by the heroism, till then unknown, of benevolence, was vanquished and fell. With paganism perished the poetry which sprang out of this political and religious form. Charlemagne, more a Frank than a Gaul, by committing to the church the business of arranging and organizing a barbarous society, closed the first era and began the second.

The character of this new period of German history is profoundly Christian, monarchical and yet free. The electors and the princes of the empire chose their chief, sometimes from one house and sometimes from another: the chief or emperor thus elected recognized the restrictions imposed upon his authority by laws, rude, indeed, but sacredly observed, and, especially, by the elective spirit which was not then a mere form. The rights of the people were defended against the imperial power by the princes; and were guaranteed against the princes by institutions which have never been destroyed. Their civilization was unpolished but vigorous; and Germanic liberty, resting on a religious unity which found in every heart and every mind an unbounded faith, formed a nation truly great, respected and feared by all Europe.

The poetry of this era exists in the songs of the *minnesangers* and *meistersangers*; who strongly resemble our Provençal Troubadours, and from whom, perhaps, they derived their origin. The name of the latter indicates that they formed themselves into a school; and their poetry, from this circumstance, was less original and less popular than that of the first era. Still, it was popular, as it harmonized with the general spirit of the age; and, indeed, it was welcomed and feasted in the baronial castles. Even in this poetry we discover the charm of a melancholy revery, wholly unknown to Spain or to Italy, and a savor of mysticism in love and religion, which reminds us of ancient Germany.

The philosophy of this period was scholastic; and it deserved to be as much respected then, as it was afterwards despised, when, wishing to preserve a dominion which it had lost for centuries, it ceased to act as a lawful sovereign, and became a tyrant and a persecutor. The scholastic philosophy was nothing else than a collection of formulas, more or less scientific, in which a dawning reflection, leaning on the *organum* of Aristotle, had arranged the doctrines of religion for purposes of instruction. Theologians were philosophers then; and they were distinguished by a character, simple and grave, and by a profoundness of sentiment and an elevation of thought, which have given them a very high rank in the history of philosophy. Before the establishment of universities, there were large and flourishing schools in all parts of Germany;—at Fulda, Mentz, Ratisbon, and, particularly, at Cologne. The scholasticism of Germany was undoubtedly less original and less fruitful than that of France; the latter, indeed, had neither equal nor rival; but the former had some great names, and the greatest was that of Albert. Though the form of this

philosophy was somewhat barbarous, do not despise it; for the faith of the teachers and that of their disciples gave it life.

Thus, on the one hand, we discover a genuine faith in the people, and liberty as the consequence—for their faith was as free as the love which was its principle; on the other hand, we have a government, energetic and firm, because it rested on the cordial assent of the people, and on their noble faith. Such was the condition, philosophical, religious, literary and political, of this second era. These were the halcyon days of the Germanic empire;—days, to the remembrance of which great writers still appeal with enthusiasm.

This form, like that which preceded it, passed away; and so do all forms pass away. That which assisted at first to enervate, and afterwards to degrade it, was the predominance of foreign influence, both in politics and religion. Strangers, by degrees, came to play a more important part in Germany than her own citizens. At length, a city in Italy dictated the belief, the customs and the minutest ceremonies which should be observed in the heart of Thuringia; and there sat on the throne of Germany a man whose dominion, embracing Spain, half of Italy and the Low Countries, no longer represented to the people a national government. Charles V., much less a German than a Belgian or a Spaniard, had concentrated in his hands such an amount of power, that, as it could not increase, it must needs diminish. In respect to all that was merely political and external, the Germans could have submitted; but, in that which was moral and intellectual, they must consult only their own inclination. They insisted on some liberty upon a point of minor importance, but they were not heard: they resisted, therefore, and the energy of resistance, calling into action a strong repressive force, only increased the violence of the struggle. Thus broke forth and spread abroad that reformation in politics and religion, which dissolved the unity of Europe, and wrested from the house of Austria and the court of Rome the sceptre of Germany.

Two men commenced this revolution—both men of the North—one of whom protested, with fervid eloquence, against religious despotism, and the other sustained that protestation by his sword. I refer to Luther and Gustavus Adolphus. The public discourses of Luther undermined Catholicism, and the sword of Gustavus humbled the house of Austria and emancipated Germany. But I ought to add that these two great men, while they swept away a form which did not suit the spirit of the age, replaced it with nothing that was firm and durable. Hence, the anarchy which has prevailed even to the present time. When the unity of the holy empire was destroyed, the title of emperor became an empty name—nothing more, in reality, than emperor of the house of Austria; the electors and princes, restored to their independence, gradually became absolute monarchs; and to the regular and compacted despotism of one man there succeeded a multitude of smaller despotisms. And so, too, when Luther had annihilated the power of Rome in a great part of Germany, mind, disenthralled from the authority of the ancient yoke, was reluctant to recognize any authority whatever. Lutheranism had its schisms; Cal-



vinism had its penal fires; and the faith which remained knew not what form to assume. Poetry, likewise, consecrated to the faith, the sentiments and the incidents of a political and religious form which had passed away, ceased to be popular; and, as revolutions are never stationary, and poetry can live only in that which is fixed and determinate, poets no longer arose; and this was the end of German song. The philosophy of Protestantism shared the same fate. An infinite variety of schools sprang up, in which the ancient scholasticism underwent continual modifications and alterations; but in the midst of this confusion we find nothing great, nothing original, nothing worthy to receive the serious attention of history.

Meanwhile, a man of genius in France demolished scholasticism forever; and raised on its ruins a system, new in its method and general tendency. This system, or at least its spirit, spread among the first minds of the age of Louis XIV. Bossuet himself, though he would not avow the fact, Fenelon, Malebranche and the Messieurs of the Port Royal were all Cartesians. In Holland, Spinoza did nothing more than carry out the rigorous consequences of the principles of Descartes. The new philosophy secured Germany also; it was taught and imitated by the German doctors, just as the Provençal poets had been imitated on the banks of the Rhine. Leibnitz,—whose genius we cannot too much admire,—Leibnitz was himself a disciple of Descartes;—a disciple, it is true, who surpassed his master, but who, unfortunately led away by a universal curiosity, a passion for all kinds of glory and the distractions of political life, has only thrown out some admirable views, without any clear and definite system. Wolf has endeavored to bring the scattered opinions of this great polygraph to a common centre, and reduce them to order: but Wolf has reproduced the form rather than the spirit of the philosophy of Leibnitz. Those who followed him continued this new scholasticism; and it is an undeniable fact, that, from the middle to near the end of the eighteenth century, we find no system in Germany, sufficiently predominant to be called a true German philosophy.

It was at this time that Germany entered into closer relations with that portion of philosophical Europe, which had ceased to be Cartesian. England had passed under the yoke of the system of Locke. France had exchanged the extravagant, but sublime Cartesianism of Malebranche, for a superficial imitation of the English philosophy. Sensualism had become the philosophic form of England and of France. It soon made its way into Germany with all its consequences,—with the love of the little and the mediocre in every thing,—the love of little poetry which destroyed the great. Frederick reigned at Berlin; and those men of genius in France, who found themselves eclipsed by the brilliant star of Voltaire, went to the German capital, there to minister, in a subordinate capacity, to the amusement of the king and his court. That which remained of theology and religion in Germany, they turned into ridicule. Frederick was delighted with this contest between the old theologians and the new philosophers. He paid the former, but he gave them over to the sarcasms of Lamettrie and the Marquis d'Argens; and the ancient theology retreated before the spirit of modern philosophy.

Thus there was no law, no liberty, no national poetry. Despotic governments hired foreign sophists to destroy the old German spirit; theology crouched unresistingly beneath the combined weight of ridicule and skepticism; instead of philosophy, a sort of dogmatic frivolousness held the ascendancy, giving to the world, not the folios which were the respectable memorials of the ancient theology, but a few epigrams and meager pamphlets. Such was the state in which Kant found Germany.

I mistake. One man preceded Kant, to whom belongs the honor of having been the first to oppose himself boldly to the servile and despotic trifling of the court of Frederick. Klopstock, a man of the country, simple and grave, a Christian and a German in the eighteenth century, discovered in his soul those inspired songs which were hailed, from one end of Germany to the other, as the dawn of a true, national poetry. The court of Berlin was alone unmoved. It was in vain that Klopstock presented to Frederick, in sublime verse, the apology of the German muse. The great king did not understand the loyal patriot; but his countrymen understood him. German literature entered at once the path which the genius of Klopstock opened to it; and even before the death of Frederick, there appeared a number of national poems, which every body learned by heart. But what was the character of this new poetry? With the feeling of patriotism, there returned the religious spirit; and there returned, also, the meditative and pensive genius of ancient and immortal Germany, and that love, sweet and pure, which, as seen in Klopstock and Bürger, is so nobly contrasted with the mawkishness and grossness of the anacreontic poetry, which reigned in the saloons and courts of the eighteenth century.

In the midst of this great movement a native of Königsberg, who, like Socrates, seldom went beyond the walls of his birth-place, published a work on philosophy. At first it was little read, and almost unnoticed; afterwards, it slowly found its way to some chosen spirits; at the end of eight or ten years it produced important changes in Germany, and finally it regenerated philosophy, as the Messiah had regenerated poetry. Kant first directed his studies to theology and the learned languages: he had an extraordinary talent for mathematics, and he made some discoveries in astronomy. But philosophy presided over all his labors, and, at length, absorbed every other taste. This became his true vocation, and his principal glory. His distinctive character was a scrupulous integrity, and a conscience, honest and unbending, which recoiled from the shameful consequences of the fashionable philosophy. But, on the other hand, his dread of sensualism was hardly surpassed by his fear of the dangerous conclusions—such he regarded them—of the metaphysics of the schools. We may say that Hume was a perpetual spectre to Kant; as soon as he endeavored to take one step backward on the old track, the former appeared, and turned him from his purpose. The whole effort of Kant was to shelter philosophy from the attacks of Hume's skepticism, by giving it a place between the ancient dogmatism, and the sensualism of Locke and Condillac.

But it is particularly in moral philosophy, that Kant, without resorting to the mysticism of the middle ages, has assailed the skepticism of the

eighteenth century. At a time when pleasure, interest and happiness were the only topics of discussion in France, Italy and England, a voice was heard at Königsberg, which called back the soul to a consciousness of its dignity; and proclaimed to individuals and to nations, that there was something above the attractions of pleasure and the calculations of interest—a rule, a law, unchangeable and obligatory everywhere, always, in every condition, social or private—the *law of duty*. The idea of duty is the centre of Kant's morality, and his morality is the centre of his philosophy. The doubts which severe metaphysical inquiries create, morality resolves, and, by its light, illumines, at the same time, politics and religion. If there be in man the idea of a law superior to passion and to interest, and his existence is not a contradiction, or a problem which cannot be solved, he must be able to obey that law: if he *ought* he *can*: duty implies liberty. On the other hand, if duty is superior to happiness, it is necessary, in extreme cases, to sacrifice the latter to the former. Still, between the two there is an eternal harmony, which, though disturbed for a moment, reason upholds and imposes even, so to speak, on existence and its author. Hence there must be a God superior to all secondary causes, who will maintain, somewhere, the harmony of virtue and happiness. Hence a God and a life to come. And the idea of duty implies, again, the idea of right. My duty to you is your right in respect to me; and so your duty to me is my right in respect to you. Here we have a social morality, a national right, a political philosophy, widely different from the uncurbed policy of passion, and the tortuous policy of interest.

Such, in a few words, are the noble features of the new system which Kant has given to Germany, and Germany to Europe. It is undoubtedly true that the Scottish philosophers had made a similar attempt. At Edinburgh, the sagacious Reid had conceived almost the same thoughts with the great philosopher of Königsberg. But what was only a rough sketch in Scotland, became a precise and accurate system under the strong hand of Kant. Here is the last step, the highest development of the spirit of the eighteenth century;—the Scottish school being the first step, and the point of departure. Kant crowns and closes the century. I do not hesitate to say that Kant is to this period in philosophy, what the French revolution is in political and social order. Kant, born in 1724, published his *Critique of the Pure Speculative Reason*, in 1781; his *Critique of the Pure Practical Reason*, in 1788; his *Agreement of Religion with Reason*, in 1793; his *Metaphysical Principles of Right*, in 1799; and, after some other works, he died at Königsberg, in 1804. He belonged to the eighteenth century; and, at the same time, he opened another which is called to a very different destiny, both in politics and philosophy.

[The course which M. Cousin has prescribed to himself, in unfolding the system of Kant, is to analyze, 1, the *Critique of the Pure Reason*, which contains his metaphysics; 2, the *Critique of the Practical Reason*, which contains his ethics; and, 3, such other writings of this philosopher, as aid in developing his metaphysical and ethical principles. His remarks on the style of the *Critique of the Pure Reason*, we here subjoin.]

It was a large volume, composed, after the model of the school of Wolf, with great regularity, but with such a profusion of divisions and subdivisions, that the leading thought is lost in the circuit of its long development. In addition to this, the work, unfortunately, was badly written. It is true that there is frequently much spirit in the details, and there are some admirable morsels; but, as the author candidly admits in his preface to the edition of 1787, though there is everywhere great logical clearness, there is little of that other clearness, which he calls æsthetic, and which is created by the art of conducting the reader from the known to the unknown, from the easy to the difficult;—an art which is rare, especially in Germany, and which was entirely wanting to the philosopher of Königsberg. Take the table of contents prefixed to the Critique of the Pure Reason. It is obvious, that, in respect to logical order, and the connexion of all the parts of the work, nothing can be more luminous, nothing more precise. But take each chapter by itself, and every thing is changed. That order in details, which the chapters ought to exhibit is not here. Every idea is expressed with the last precision; but it is not always in the right place to facilitate its introduction into the mind of the reader. To this defect you may add that of the German language, at this epoch carried to its height;—I mean the excessive synthetic character of the German, which is so strikingly contrasted with the analytic character of the French. But this is not all. Aside from this language, still rude and badly trained to the decomposition of thought, Kant had another language of his own,—a terminology, which, once understood, is perfectly clear and quite convenient, but which, presented bluntly and without the requisite preliminaries, obscures every thing, and gives to every thing a misty and whimsical appearance. Kant issued a second edition of this work in 1787, in which many points were corrected; this second edition is the last word of the author, and it is from this, that all the subsequent editions have been published.

[M. Cousin next proceeds to analyze the principles, contained in the preface to the edition of 1781, the preface to the edition of 1787, and also in the introduction. From these he extracts the *method* of Kant. To this analysis the remainder of the article—more than twenty pages—is devoted. We give his concluding remarks.]

Kant boldly avows himself a genuine revolutionist. Like Descartes, he despises all the systems which preceded his Critique. In respect to past philosophies, he expresses himself in the cutting and haughty tone of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. In speaking with such contempt of previous systems, and in presenting them as a mass of arbitrary hypotheses, which scarcely contain a few truths by accident, it does not once occur to him, that the authors of these systems—Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Leibnitz—are his equals or superiors. But why should he be respectful to genius? He is not so even to humanity. He does, indeed, accord to man an innate propensity to metaphysics; but it is an unfortunate propensity, and has produced, hitherto, nothing but chimeras. But



he flatters himself, that with him, at the close of the eighteenth century, after three thousand years of useless effort, the true system of metaphysics, for the first time, has begun. In such a purpose, and under such language, we are tempted to imagine the existence of unbounded pride. But no. Kant was the most modest and the most circumspect of men. The spirit of the age was in him. Men can never effect revolutions with small pretensions, and Kant wished to effect a revolution in metaphysics. Like every revolution, this must proclaim the absurdity of every thing which went before: else it would be necessary merely to improve, and not to destroy the whole, as preliminary to rebuilding the whole.

Kant, like Descartes, to whom we must constantly compare him, full of his method, saw nothing besides. It was not of his genius, but of his method that he entertained a high opinion. It is here that he exalts himself; it is here that he triumphs. Descartes has somewhere said, that, in comparing himself with other men, he found himself superior to very few, and inferior to many, and that he owed every thing to his method. Socrates, likewise, two thousand years before Descartes and Kant, refers every thing to his method;—which was substantially the same as that of the French and the German philosopher. This is the true method: it is the psychological method:—which begins with man, with the subject that knows, with the study of the faculty that knows, its laws, its extent and its limits. It commenced with Socrates; it was more fully developed by Descartes; and it became perfect in Kant: in the hands of each, it produced a mighty revolution.

But it does not belong to the same man to begin and to complete a revolution. Socrates was neither Plato nor Aristotle, but the father of both. Descartes, again, was not Leibnitz: and Kant, who laid the foundation of German philosophy, has neither directed nor finished it. This philosophy is moving onward, and it does not seem to have reached its last development. With a better fortune, the French revolution, born at the same time with the philosophical revolution of Germany, departing from almost the same point, the declaration of the primitive and eternal rights of man, independently of all history and all society,—as did the other, from the pure laws of human reason, independently of all experience,—proclaiming alike contempt for the past, and the proudest hopes of the future, has run through, in a few years, its necessary vicissitudes; and we see it now arrived at its goal, tempered and organized in the charter which governs us. The charter of the philosophy of the nineteenth century is not yet written. Kant was not called to this work. His office was very different. It was necessary to effect a revolution against all the false dogmatisms, against the grand hypotheses of the idealism of the seventeenth century, and against the pitiful, and perfectly arbitrary hypotheses of his time: and this enterprise he has accomplished, thanks to the *method* whose character I have now explained.

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## ARTICLE VI.

THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH CHINA :—THE  
OPIUM QUESTION.

[Continued from Page 138.]

From the British and Foreign Review.

I. THE *prima facie* view of the case is unfavorable to the validity of the claim of the British merchants to compensation for the loss of their opium. The common cry of those who have not looked into the question is—"a pack of smugglers! what right have they to compensation? If they choose to run the hazard of smuggling for the sake of the high profits attending such a traffic, they must even abide the hazard of the die,—and if the turn of the die be against them, they must be content therewith." This is true, but this is not the statement of the case. Even viewing the case as one of loss under a smuggling transaction, the case has very peculiar features, which are thus stated in the address to Lord Palmerston of the British merchants, dated Canton, 23d May, 1839:

We may be permitted to state that all foreigners reside in Canton on sufferance; that they have no means of ascertaining the laws except from the acts of the Provincial Government; and that the opium trade has steadily increased from an import of 4,100 chests in 1796, to upwards of 30,000 chests in 1837, with the open and undisguised connivance of the local authorities.

The importation of opium into China was at one time allowed on payment of a duty, but discontinued in 1796. Its admission was again strongly recommended to the Imperial Government in 1836. No penalties have ever been enforced against foreigners bringing it to China, and the prohibitory laws have never been a rule to the functionaries of the Chinese empire, who should have administered them, nor to the Chinese people on whom they were intended to operate; which facts are openly admitted in the recent edict of the imperial Commissioner, under date the 10th March last, in which he states, "that the prohibitions formerly enacted by the Celestial Court against opium were comparatively lax," and that "the foreigners are men from distant lands, and have not before been aware that the prohibition of opium is so severe."

We may further state that the peculiar character of the opium trade was distinctly recognized in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons in 1830, and that in the subsequent report in 1832, the committee express their opinion, "that it does not seem advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue as the East India Company's monopoly of opium in Bengal."

We conceive it will therefore be admitted that British subjects have carried on this trade with the sanction, implied, if not openly expressed, of their own government; and at the same time with an advantage to the revenue of British India, varying of late years from one to one and a half millions sterling.

It now appears from what follows, that the Chinese government, at least the local government, had the power of stopping the opium trade at any time, but kept that power suspended as an instrument for exacting higher fees.

We do not attempt to deny the unquestionable right of the Chinese government to put a stop to the importation of opium, and have readily signed an agreement to abstain from that trade at Canton, on the first requisition of the government to that effect; but we think your Lordship will perceive, that long prescription had hitherto given foreigners ample reason to question the sincerity of the Chinese government with regard to the discontinuance of the importation, and that, under any circumstances, that government cannot be justified, by the lax observance of prohibitions, and open connivance of its officers, in at one time fostering a trade involving several millions sterling, and at another, rendering its pursuit a capital crime. There seems no reason to doubt, from the late proceedings of the local government, that they have always had the power most materially to check, if not totally to put a stop to the importation of opium when disposed so to do; but that power has seldom hitherto been exercised, except for the purpose of exacting higher fees for its introduction.

These are important facts unquestionably, and would be sufficient to give to the transaction a character essentially different from that of ordinary smuggling; they might consequently afford perhaps some color for the advancement of a claim to compensation from some quarter, even if the property lost had been taken and confiscated in the only way, in which the civilized nations of Europe claim possession of contraband articles, that is to say, by capturing them *vi et armis* from the parties actually engaged in the contraband transaction. But it is altogether unnecessary in this case for the claimants to rest their claim on these grounds. They may give their opponents every aid which their argument can receive from this. They may come forward and say: "We admit that, having attempted to introduce an article into China, prohibited by the laws of China, if that article had been made lawful prize by (to use the inflated phrase of Chinese official pomp,) "the war-ships of China, well supplied with guns and military weapons of all kinds, cruising east west and south, studding the ocean at short intervals, protecting the coasts, seizing the native smuggling boats, and driving out the loitering foreign ships;"—then we should not have had a shadow of a claim to compensation of any kind from any quarter whatever. But the claim to compensation which we advance is altogether grounded on the *mode* in which we lost our property,—a mode unprecedented in the annals of the civilized world.

The *mode* in which this opium came into the possession of the Chinese government takes it altogether out of the category of contraband articles. The importation into any given country of any given article is only smuggling, as regards the particular country prohibiting the article; and until the article comes strictly within the jurisdiction of that country it is not contraband, and not forfeited.\* Now what are the facts here? Of the 20,283 chests surrendered to Captain Elliot, about 3000 may have been at the time on the east coast; several hundred at Macao or on the west coast; the bulk of the remainder was in the harbor of Hong Kong, where the depôt-ships then lay. Now, as is well known, the Canton authorities make the distinction between "Inner" and "Outer seas," including in the latter, Lintin, Hong Kong, and all the islands outside the Bocca Tigris. Moreover, since the opium depôt-ships first lay at Lintin, about 1821-22, the Canton mandarins have always excused their connivance at the trade by saying, that those ships were in the "outer seas" *beyond their control*. In other words, according to these mandarins themselves, the opium which was thus surrendered at the requisition of Captain Elliot "in the name and on the behalf of her Britannic Majesty's government, and for the service of her said Majesty's government," was at that time no more forfeited by the laws of China than any other species of property, the importation of which was not prohibited by those laws. Captain Elliot himself has, in substance, put this very point in the following passage of his "Public Notice to her Britannic Majesty's subjects," dated Canton, 23d May, 1839. We mark the important words in italics:

Acting on the behalf of her Majesty's government in a momentous emergency, he has in the first place to signify, that the demand he recently made to her Majesty's subjects, for the surrender of British-owned opium under their control, *had no special reference to the circumstances of that property: but (beyond the actual pressure of necessity) that demand was founded on the principle, that these violent, compulsory measures being utterly unjust per se, and of general application for the forced surrender of any other property, or of human life, or for the constraint of any unsuitable terms or concessions, it became highly necessary to vest and leave the right of exacting effectual security, and full indemnity for every loss, directly in the queen. These outrages have already temporarily cast upon the British crown immense public liabilities; and it is incumbent upon him, at this moment of release, to fix the earliest period for removal from a situation of total insecurity, and for the termination of all risk of similar responsibility on the part of her Majesty's government.*

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\* This principle has been recognized by the English courts. In *ex parte Cavaliere*, 2 Glyn and J. 227, the vice-chancellor held that a debt, contracted abroad for goods contraband in England, is nevertheless provable, unless the seller is an actual participator in the act of smuggling them into this country; for an Englishman, having a right to purchase goods abroad, must be held liable on his contract. There is another case still more in point, in which it was held that British subjects have nothing to do with the revenue laws of other countries.



A point of no ordinary difficulty, however, now occurs for investigation; viz., *with what powers* Captain Elliot was *legally* invested; and whether those powers were sufficient to create a right on the part of Captain Elliot to require the surrender of their opium, and a corresponding obligation on the part of the British merchants to recognize that right; and, moreover, whether these powers enabled Captain Elliot to bind the British government by his acts. This naturally makes a subdivision of this question into 1st, a legal,—2dly, a moral question.

1.—The law at present in force in regard to this matter is contained in the statute 3 and 4 William IV. cap. 93, entitled: "An act to regulate the trade to China and India;" and in the Order in Council of the 9th day of December, 1833, made in pursuance of the said act, and in execution of the powers thereby in his Majesty in Council in that behalf vested.

[Our reviewer here extracts, entire, the two sections of the Act relating to this subject, and follows them with the Order in Council, made at the court at Brighton, Dec. 9, 1833, in pursuance of the Act referred to, and "in execution of the powers thus vested in his Majesty in Council." These extracts we omit as being uninteresting to American readers, and unnecessary to a sufficient understanding of the subject, the provisions which they contain, touching the points in controversy, being expressed in the following reasoning.—SE. ED.]

Thus it appears that the powers, vested by this Act of Parliament in his Majesty in Council, are here executed, not *substantively*, not *definitely*, but in a way in which much of our legislation is performed, by reference to something else; which something else is found, upon examination, to be very dimly, imperfectly known, very unsubstantial and undefined. The superintendents, appointed under the Act of Parliament before quoted, are invested with *certain* powers and authorities: and what are those powers and authorities? is the natural question. Answer.—They are "all the powers and authorities which, on the 21st day of April, 1834, shall by law be vested in the supercargoes of the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies, over and in respect to the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects at the port of Canton." It now, therefore, becomes of the utmost importance to know *what were* those powers vested in those supercargoes. We have made diligent search in every direction most likely to lead to the information required. We have carefully examined the "*Collection of Charters and Statutes relating to the East India Company*," printed by the King's printers, "*for the use of the East India Company*." We have made inquiries of members of the establishment of the East India Company most likely to be well informed on the subject. The result of the information, we have obtained from that quarter, is that the powers of the supercargoes were always indefinite, and were submitted to from the necessity of the case. They were generally supported from home in the exercise of whatever powers the circumstances of the case appeared to justify. We think it may be concluded that the powers of these supercargoes over the property of the East India Company, *for the*

*service, or what they, to the best of their judgment considered to be for the service of the said Company, were absolute.* If they considered it to be for the service of the East India Company to deliver up certain property (such property being within their jurisdiction) of the East India Company, there can be no doubt that they were empowered to do so. But it may be said, as the council of supercargoes of the East India Company at Canton had no power over any other property save that of the East India Company, except the power of deportation given by the statute 26 Geo. III. c. 57, s. 35, and that given by 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 133, of deportation, and of seizing the ships and goods of unlicensed persons trading within the limits of the East India Company,—that there is no analogy between the powers of the supercargoes and the powers of the superintendents; that you cannot, from the powers exercised by the council of supercargoes over the property of the East India Company, form any conclusion respecting the powers to be exercised by the superintendents over the property of all the subjects of the British Government. Now let us see whether the 78th and 79th sections of the Act above referred to, the 33 Geo. III. c. 52, which apply to a case where certain other ships besides those of the Company were permitted to trade with the isles of Japan and the coasts of Korea and Canton, throw any light upon the subject.

The 78th section of that Act, after reciting that “for the further encouragement of trade to the northwest coast of America and the islands adjacent, under the limitations contained in the convention made by his Majesty with the King of Spain, of the twenty-eighth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, it may be expedient that ships fitted out for those parts should, in certain cases, be permitted by license from the said Company to proceed from the said coast and islands direct to the isles of Japan and the coasts of Korea and Canton, there to dispose of their cargoes obtained on the said northwest coast of America, and to return from thence direct to the same northwest coast or islands adjacent, and there dispose of their returns in trade, the owners and commanders of such ships entering into such covenants with, and giving such security to the said company, and submitting to be bound by such rules and regulations as shall appear to be best adapted for preserving to the said Company the exercise and benefit of their commercial privileges, and conduce to the preservation of good order and regularity of the ship’s companies, and their observance of the laws prescribed by the native states, during the continuance of such ships on the said coasts of Japan, Korea and in the river of Canton aforesaid,” enacts, “That the Court of Directors of the said Company shall, and they are hereby required forthwith, after the passing of this Act, to frame and lay before the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, such rules and regulations as they shall think best adapted for the purposes aforesaid, and also the forms of such deeds of covenant or other securities as the said Court of Directors shall judge to be proper or necessary to be entered into, or given for the due observance thereof by the owners and commanders of ships to be licensed as aforesaid, and that the said Board shall thereupon proceed to revise the same, and to give such orders and

instructions to the said Directors, in relation thereto, as they shall think fit and expedient; and that the said owners and commanders, conforming themselves to the terms and conditions which shall be so prescribed, shall have and be entitled to such license or licenses, and the said Court of Directors are hereby required to grant the same accordingly, unless, on any representation made by the said Directors to the said Board of Commissioners, containing any specific objections against the granting of any such license, the said Board shall order the same to be withheld, in which case it shall and may be lawful for the said Directors to withhold or refuse the same."

And by the 79th section it is enacted, "That the said rules and regulations to be so made for the purposes aforesaid, or any deeds of covenant or other securities to be required to be entered into or given for the observance thereof, shall not extend to vest in any council of supercargoes, or other officers of the said Company, *a greater power over any ships, or the commanders, officers, or companies of the same, in the eastern seas, or on the coasts of Japan, Korea and China, which they shall be permitted to visit according to the tenor of such licenses, than such as can, shall or may lawfully be exercised by the said council of supercargoes, or other officers of the said Company, in or over the ships employed by or in the service of the said Company, and the commanders, officers and men belonging thereto.*"

Now, the words used here are, "any ships, or the commanders, officers, or companies of the same." There is nothing said about *cargoes*. In construction of law, then, it was not intended to give to the said supercargoes a power over the *property* of British subjects, (other than the East India Company,) who might be permitted by license to trade with China.

But, by the statute, 3 and 4 William IV. c. 93, all the subjects of Great Britain are permitted to trade there; and making the necessary substitution of all British subjects for the particular class specified in the above recited Act of Parliament (33 George III. c. 52,) we arrive at the conclusion that these superintendents have *not* by LAW power to order the surrender of the property of Her Majesty's subjects in China for the service of Her Majesty's Government.

Another aspect of the legal question would be, whether Captain Elliot, by law, had power to bind the British Government by any guarantee he might see fit to give in the name of the said Government. And we cannot say that we see a shadow of any power of that description *expressly* and *specially* vested in him by any of the legal instruments under which he held his office,—either by the Act of Parliament or legal instrument creating the power to appoint him, or the Order in Council or legal instrument executing that power. But though Captain Elliot had no express and special power to bind the British Government, he had undoubtedly that implied and general power which exists in the person of every accredited officer of any state, from the commander of an army or a fleet, to the captain of the smallest craft bearing the government flag, for extraordinary emergencies. The difficulty of determining what

the emergencies are, which render it consistent with sound policy that such an officer should take upon him to bind his government, render it always competent to such a government to refuse to abide by the guarantee, or redeem the pledge—to discredit the acts—to dishonor the bills of its officer. And this circumstance leads us to the moral question; viz., whether this was or was not a case falling under the class of cases in which an officer could bind the government he represented.

2.—We take it to need little demonstration to prove that the principal object, for which Captain Elliot and the other superintendents were in China, was the protection of British subjects. In the emergency which had occurred, as we have described in the preceding pages, Captain Elliot rightly judged it to be his duty to adopt the only means in his power for the protection of upwards of 150 British subjects, shut up in Canton by the Chinese Government. The British Government had left its subjects in China *totally without protection*. *There was not a single ship-of-war upon the coast, or in the Chinese seas.\** In this emergency what was Captain Elliot to do? He felt himself to be responsible for the lives of nearly 200 British subjects, and he adopted the only course that was open to him to provide for their safety. In his public and official character he

enjoined and required all Her Majesty's subjects then present in Canton, in the name, and on the behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, to make a surrender to him for the service of Her said Majesty's Government, to be delivered over to the Government of China, of all the opium under their respective control.

And further he declared that,

*"in the most full and unreserved manner, he held himself responsible for and on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, to all and each of Her Majesty's subjects surrendering the said British-owned opium into his hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese Government."*

Now, whether Captain Elliot was or was not *legally* authorized thus to bind Her Britannic Majesty's Government, the parties thus enjoined and required believed him to be legally authorized, and acted under that belief. But the gist of the argument lies not merely on what supposition with respect to Captain Elliot's powers, but for what specific purpose, and with what effect, the opium was surrendered. There were at that

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\* As Captain Elliot is stated to have come up to Canton in a boat belonging to Her Majesty's ship *Larne*, a small vessel of 18 guns, we may conclude that that vessel was on the coast. The Duke of Wellington, in one of the parliamentary papers lately printed, gives it as his opinion that there should have always been on the coast "*a stout frigate, besides one or two smaller vessels.*" This is an important circumstance in favor of the claim of the opium-owners as against the British Government.



time shut up in Canton by the Chinese Government, deprived of their servants, and debarred from purchasing food, in all about 230 foreigners, in nearly the following proportions as to the respective nations to which they belonged:—viz.,

British, including Her Majesty's superintendents, and the East India Company's Agency Establishments, and about 50 officers and seamen of the shipping at Whampoa or other strangers . . . . .	130
Parsees, or other natives of India, mostly British subjects . . . . .	50
Americans . . . . .	30
Portuguese, some from Macao, others natives of India and British subjects . . . . .	15
Dutch, Swiss, &c. . . . .	5
<hr/>	
Total	230

The opium, then, surrendered to Captain Elliot can be viewed in no other light than as the RANSOM of the lives of 180 British subjects. It is necessary to consider an objection that may be here made. It may be said that nearly all, if not all, of the merchants or mercantile agents out of this number of 150 and upwards of British subjects, were or had been engaged more or less in the opium trade; and that, consequently, they could make no moral claim for compensation for having given up their own property to save their own lives. It might be shown, indeed, that although occasionally all those houses of agency may have been concerned in opium on their own account, none were entirely so. However, we do not feel inclined to contest this point. Let us deduct from the sum total of British subjects, whose lives were in jeopardy from Chinese violence, all those who were in any the slightest degree interested in the property surrendered, and see how the argument stands without them. We have still remaining Her Majesty's superintendents, the East India Company's Agency Establishment, and about 50 officers and seamen belonging to the British shipping. As the *ransom* of their lives the opium was given up. A question again will be asked by some persons, which must be answered. Were their lives worth 20,283 chests of opium, estimated at say 500 dollars per chest, making a sum of upwards of £2,000,000 sterling? It may seem, indeed, a somewhat ungracious, ungenerous, pennywise style of going to work,—this weighing out the lives of Englishmen and British subjects by ounces and grains of silver. But we wish to adapt our argument to the encounter of any objections that may be urged against it. In this case, however, we have a unit among the lives to be ransomed, which represents so many other units, that it will save us the trouble of reckoning every individual fraction of a farthing sterling that each life on this occasion might be worth. However ignoble the occasion, however obscure the scene, and on that scene and that occasion however inadequate might be the symbol, nevertheless, in that scene, on that occasion, the Queen's superintendents must undoubtedly be considered as the representatives of the majesty of the British people and the British crown. This consideration alone is so

weighty, as to make the opposing scale of the balance kick the beam. It is not of a ransom for the superintendents in their personal, natural character that we speak, but of a ransom for them in their public, civil, official character, in which for the occasion they represent in that sphere the power, wealth and dignity of the British nation and the British name.

As to what has been said of their possessing no political character, whatever character they may bear as regards the Chinese, there cannot be a doubt that officers solemnly appointed by the King in Council, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, possess a political character as regards British subjects. And be it observed, moreover, that a recital in an Order in Council being good evidence of the truth of a fact, at least as regards British subjects, and it being recited in the said Order in Council that the said superintendents were appointed in pursuance of the desire of the Chinese Government to that effect, British subjects have good authority to consider the said superintendents as invested with a political character, not only as regards the British Government and its subjects, but as regards the Chinese Government and its subjects. Captain Elliot has been accused of identifying the English nation with the cause of the smugglers. If Captain Elliot had been quite sure that there were no British subjects shut up in Canton but those concerned in opium smuggling, perhaps then the strict line of his duty towards the British Government might have been to leave them to get out of the scrape into which their own acts had brought them. But as Captain Elliot could not be sure of what was not the fact, it was his duty to exert himself to the utmost for the protection of such British subjects placed under his protection as had done nothing to forfeit that protection. If he had left them to perish by Chinese violence, he would have been visited with tenfold reprobation by those very persons who are now hunting him down for the opposite line of conduct.

We are then clearly of opinion that this was one of those critical cases in which an accredited officer had power to bind the government he represented; and consequently, that the British Government are bound to redeem the pledge given by Captain Elliot to the owners of opium surrendered to him for the Chinese Government. And this specific claim the British Government, as a government making any pretensions to honor, good faith and good policy (for here, as in private life, honesty or good faith is the best policy), are bound to satisfy at once, without delay and without equivocation, without subterfuge, without any pretence of waiting to be compensated itself by the Chinese Government; for it is a distinct claim upon the British Government, altogether independent of any claim which the British Government may have upon the Chinese Government. This last question we now proceed to consider.

II. The importance and novelty of the case render a few preliminary remarks necessary. The writers on the so-called law of nations, for the most part, confound the law of nature and the law of nations. There is one writer, too, (a man whose clearness, vigor and grasp of mind form a singular contrast with the feebleness and confusion of ideas which

characterize the above-mentioned herd of writers,) whom they sometimes cite as an authority for that doctrine. We mean Hobbes, whom Vattel and others represent as holding "that the law of nations is the law of nature applied to states or nations."\* And certainly the passage quoted by Vattel (from the *De Cive*, c. xiv. § 4), is borne out by a passage in the *Leviathan* (part II. c. 30, p. 185), where Hobbes says expressly,—“the law of nations and the law of nature is the same thing.” Now, according to Hobbes, the fundamental law of nature is, “That every man ought to endeavor peace, as far as he has hope of obtaining it; and, when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war.”† And again, “The right of nature, which writers commonly call *jus naturale*, is the liberty each man has to use his own power as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature, that is to say, of his own life; and consequently, of doing any thing which in his own judgment and reason he shall conceive to be the aptest means therunto:” and, “A law of nature (*lex naturalis*) is a precept, or general rule, found out by reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that which is destructive of his life, or taketh away the means of preserving the same, and to omit that by which he thinketh it may be best preserved.”‡ In order to make out that this and the law of nations are equivalent terms, we must adopt the hypothesis, that nations continue in a state of nature as regards their external relations towards each other. But among nations which, for a series of years or centuries, have had with each other repeated communications and transactions both of peace and war, many customs and maxims grow up, which, although wanting one essential quality of laws, properly so called, viz. a sanction to enforce them, are to a certain extent (but only to a certain extent, for the reasons given above; since they are constantly disregarded by those nations or sovereigns who consider themselves powerful enough so to do) recognized by certain nations who usually style themselves civilized, and may be, without much impropriety, called collectively the law of nations. And the misleading and mischievous blunder usually committed by the writers above alluded to, is to confound this positive or practical law of nations, or international law, with that phantom which they style the law of nature.§ But the present question furnishes an example that *all* the nations of the world styling themselves civilized do not recognize the law of nations. The Chinese do not recognize it, and therefore, as regards them,

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\* Vattel's Law of Nations; Pref. p. vii., Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations, B. ii. c. iii. §. 23.

† *Leviathan*, Part I. c. 14.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ See a note on this subject in Professor Austin's Jurisprudence, p. 280. Mr. Austin says, that “Von Martens of Göttingen (who died some few years ago) was the first to perceive steadily the palpable difference in question.” It were much to be wished that some one in this country would “perceive it steadily,” and write a good book upon that perception of the subject.

we are driven back to that state in which, what we have described above as the law of nature is the only light we have to walk by.

If the Chinese Government recognized that system or code of laws or usages, known in Europe by the name of law of nations, or international law, the solution of this question would be simple and easy. Smuggling is carried on reciprocally, to a considerable extent, on both the English and French coasts; yet if either nation, instead of protecting its own coasts from smuggling, were to attempt to put down smuggling by seizing the persons of the ambassadors or consuls of the other nation, it would not be difficult to predict the consequence of such an act. But where treaties do not exist, international law does not exist: and nations, like individuals, are thrown back upon the law of nature—in other words, the law of the strongest. The end of all law, however much and often law may diverge from the path to that end, is to protect the weak-bodied and simple-minded against the strong and the crafty: and treaties between nations, so far as they have the force of laws, have the same object. The Chinese Government has always declined to enter into any treaties; and one of its true and even avowed reasons for so declining was that a contract or treaty implies a certain equality between the contracting parties—and the Chinese Government acknowledges no equal upon earth. It recognizes tributaries, but no allies. By this conduct, therefore, it seems to evince a preference for this law of nature,—or of the strongest,—in other words, for this *no law*, *regis*.—Considers itself in the position of the strongest, and consequently believes that it would be a loser by any other state of things. China, however, does not profess to make a giant's use of her gigantic strength—to use it for the purpose of coercion, of conquest. She professes to look down with an eye of cold indifference or philosophic scorn upon the quarrels and the treaties, the wars and the massacres for freedom, religion, glory, or whatever else, of the numerous nations into which Europe is divided, though they altogether form a population inferior in number to her own alone. She takes no part in their enmities or their friendships, their commerce or their wars: the aim of their existence is not hers. Except that she is less warlike and less ferocious than we were then, she regards us Europeans who come to traffic with her, pretty much as we regarded the Jews 500 years ago. She tolerates us for our dollars, but she despises us, spits on our gaberdine, and even sometimes pulls a tooth, if the dollars are not to be got at in any other way. Now, whether we should take upon us to attempt to beat (for there is clearly no other way than this, the *ratio ultima regum*) such a nation into a more amicable feeling, or, at least, more courteous demeanor towards us, is a question entirely between God and our consciences; or, as others will put it, between our pride and our pockets. If we feel convinced that it is for the good of ourselves, our posterity and the world at large, that we, a people before whose combined energy, coolness, discipline and valor, hath sunk every obstacle, and been beaten down every foe on every shore and every sea throughout the world for more than 700 years,—ever since the flag of the haughty and fiery Norman was blended with that of the steady and stubborn Saxon,—should



humble the pride of the Chinese Emperor, showing him and his people that we are not the mere pedlars and money-changers they take us for, and that we deal in red-hot shot as well as cold dollars; why then it is our duty, feeling so convinced, so to do; and if we are convinced of the contrary, we do right to do the contrary; but it will be necessary to examine the matter a little more closely.

In the view of the judge and the legislator, punishment is inflicted, injury is redressed, not for the sake of vengeance for the past, but of prevention of evil and injury for the future. As long as human nature remains what it is, and still more as long as the Chinese principles of government remain what they are, any commercial intercourse between Great Britain and China must ever be subject to be attended by a great many transactions of the nature of smuggling. Wherever the prohibition of articles which are eminently objects of desire is strict, and the means of enforcing that prohibition are insufficient, the temptations to smuggling must be irresistible. A good deal has been written on what are called the "iniquities of the opium trade," and many of those who so stigmatize that traffic are no doubt actuated by the purest and worthiest motives. But if any government were to undertake to put down every traffic which any other government took upon itself to prohibit, there would soon be an end to commerce altogether. The importation of any given article is only smuggling as regards the country prohibiting the article. Until the article in question comes within the jurisdiction of that country it is not contraband, and not forfeited. To prohibit the production of opium because a few or even many Chinese convert it into an instrument of self-destruction, would be about as reasonable as to prohibit the production of French brandy, Oporto wine, or English gin or cutlery, because each and all of them become at times instruments for the destruction of human life and morals, while none of them is an article of the pharmacopæia, which opium is. And besides, surely, as regards prohibiting the cultivation of opium, the British East India Company are not called upon to do more, in order that Chinamen may not smoke opium, than the Chinese Government itself does. And suppose we were to prohibit the exportation of opium from all our dependencies for the purpose of being imported into China, and were to succeed, to a certain extent (and it is very unlikely that we should succeed completely) in preventing its introduction into China, what security have we that the Chinese may not think fit to prohibit some other article of commerce, and enact over again towards the British representative and British subjects the same drama which we have just described? It is perfectly clear, that unless our intercourse with the Chinese is placed on a different footing from that on which it stands at present, we may be liable at any time to a recurrence of the unpleasant and somewhat opprobrious scenes which have lately been exhibited to the world at our expense. It is quite clear, that if it is desired to prevent the recurrence of such acts towards British subjects on the part of the Chinese Government, such a reparation must be demanded and *exact*ed for this insult to the representative of the majesty of the British crown and British people at Canton, as may render it inexpedient for the Government

of China ever to venture upon a repetition of it. For it is important to remark here, that there is every reason to believe that the Chinese authorities were perfectly aware of what they were about,—that they perfectly understood the official character in which Captain Elliot appeared at Canton. A variety of proof of this might be adduced from the Chinese public documents, but the following recital in the preamble already quoted to the Order in Council of the 9th day of December, 1833, is sufficient :

And whereas the officers of the Chinese Government, resident in or near Canton, in the empire of China, have signified to the supercargoes of the East India Company at Canton, the desire of that government that effectual provision should be made, by law, for the good order of all His Majesty's subjects resorting to Canton, and for the maintenance of peace and due subordination amongst them ; and it is expedient that effect should be given to such reasonable demands of the said Chinese Government.

And in pursuance of a certain act of parliament therein described, it was ordered by the said Order in Council, that certain powers and authorities therein referred to, should by law be vested in the superintendents for the time being appointed under and by virtue of the said act of parliament.

The consequences, which for the future we say it is absolutely necessary to prevent, are still more fully developed in the following passage of an edict of the 8th of May, 1839 :

All you foreigners of every nation, should you not come hither, there the matter rests ; but should you come to the territory of the Celestial Court, be you people of any country whatsoever, so often as opium is brought, in all cases, in accordance with the new law, the parties shall be capitally executed [punished], and the property entirely confiscated. Say not that it was not told beforehand !

Upon this edict Captain Elliot made some just remarks in the following

*Public Notice to British Subjects.*

The Chief Superintendent yesterday received an edict, of which the annexed is a copy, to the joint address of the Consul of the King of Holland, the Consul of the United States and himself. By this law the ships and crews\* of all nations, henceforward arriving in China, are liable to

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\* Quære,—Whether the word in the edict as quoted above, “ parties,” would not be held by the Chinese judicial authorities to comprehend more than “ crews,” viz. principals or owners, and even agents also. In reference to this subject, we make the following extract from the *Canton Register* of 21st May (1839) :—“ We understand that H. E. the imperial commissioner has commanded the pilots to bring the ships now lying outside into the river ; and *when* they have arrived at Whampoa, *then*

the penalties; the first, of confiscation, and the last, of death, upon the determination of this government that they have introduced opium. The danger of confiding to this government the administration of any judicial process concerning foreigners can scarcely be more strikingly manifested than in the list of names lately proscribed by the High Commissioner. Evidence that has been good to satisfy his excellency that these sixteen persons are principal parties concerned in introducing opium, and therefore to justify their detention as hostages, would of course be equally good for other convictions of the like nature. It may be taken to be certain, however, that the list contains the names of persons who have never been engaged in such pursuits, or, let it be added, in any other contraband practice. In investigation upon such subjects, the Chinese authorities would probably be guiltless of any deliberate intention to commit acts of judicial spoliation and murder. But it is plain, that in the present state of the intercourse, there would be excessive risk of such consequences, and therefore the present law is incompatible with safe or honorable continuance at Canton, if nothing else had happened to establish the same conclusion. It places, in point of fact, the lives, liberty and property of the whole foreign community here at the mercy of any reckless foreigners outside, and more particularly at the disposal of the hong merchants, linguists, compradores and their retainers. The Chief Superintendent by no means ascribes general wickedness to those parties, but their situation and liabilities make them very unsafe reporters, and yet it is mainly upon their reports that the judgment of the government will be taken.

It will be particularly observed that persons remaining are understood by the government to assent to the reasonableness of the law.

CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British subjects in China.  
Canton, 11th May, 1839.

In making the above remarks let us not be misunderstood. We are no advocates of smuggling in any kind or degree; and if the moral guilt can be increased by the peculiar nature and properties of the article smuggled, it would certainly be so by those of a pernicious and demoralizing drug like opium. Holding it, when used in the manner the Chinese use it, that is, not as a medicine but as a luxury, to be in the last degree hurtful to the physical, moral and intellectual nature of man, we wish most heartily that they had put down the trade—had effectually stopped the importation in a regular and justifiable manner; we wish so for their sakes as well as for our own. The blunder made by the Chinese authorities was in putting coercion upon others besides those who were or possibly might be engaged in the trade. If they had shut up all the opium merchants and agents,—if they had even threatened them with death, unless they surrendered the opium under their control,—we do not think that upon principles of gene-

the new law shall be divulged to them. If any of the ships of any nation enter the port under this gracious permission, the truth of the Chinese proverb will be verified; namely:—‘That the Chinese see with two eyes and all other men with only one.’”

ral equity they could have been called upon to account for what they did. But in shutting up or keeping in confinement, in other words, putting coercion upon Her Britannic Majesty's superintendents and others of Her Majesty's subjects who had and could have no concern with the opium smuggling, they made their quarrel with the smugglers a quarrel with the British nation. Now in this case the British nation either is an opium smuggler or she is not. If she is, she is not on that account the less likely to resent being treated as a smuggler, and to demand redress and indemnity for her losses and the wrongs. If she is not, she will justly demand redress for the injurious treatment she has received; and one shape, in which that redress may in part be effected, may be indemnity for the property lost. If the Chinese had carefully selected only those who were engaged in the opium trade, putting coercion upon them, but leaving free passage to all others, they and those who support them would most undoubtedly have had a much better case than they have at present; though even then their conduct would have had very much the effect of punishing by an *ex post facto* law. For suffering a law to lie for years as a dead letter, and then all at once bringing it into violent operation, has the same effect as an *ex post facto* law. A few years ago Governor Yuen succeeded in driving away opium smuggling from Whampoa by the simple exercise of the known Chinese law, that whenever foreigners prove refractory their hatches shall be closed (*i. e.* their legal trade suspended) until they obey. It may be asked, why did he not go on enforcing that law? It would have been more easy to destroy the trade when the importation was only 5000 or 6000 chests, than when it was nearer 30,000. Among the many reasons for thinking that the Chinese were not sincere in professing to stop it then, one is, that the flow of silver was into the empire at that time. The balance of exports and imports and consequently of exchanges did not turn against them until 1829-30. Yuen retired from the Emperor's Council of Four (Nuy-Ko) only last year; and his retirement seems to have been the signal for the violent party in the imperial councils to enter upon those proceedings which Lin is now following out.

But admitting that an insult has been offered to the British people, in the force put upon the persons of British subjects, and more especially of the superintendent of the British commerce, there are other considerations to be taken into account, by a rational and civilized state, besides the mere consideration of the shortest way to avenge that insult. It may be said that if the Chinese do not wish for our trade we have no right to force it upon them: and it may be said also, with a good color of truth, that the supply even of all the British empire with tea is but a part of the Chinese trade in tea (considering the vast supplies of that article required by the eastern parts of Europe and vast tracts of Northern Asia), and consequently the Chinese might not be disposed to make any great sacrifice to retain the British trade;—moreover that there are the Americans ready to avail themselves of our quarrel with the Chinese to become the instruments of supplying all the British dominions with tea. But all this is no answer to the objection. It is undeniable that for two hundred years the Chinese have not only permitted but encouraged us to trade with them; and we



are not bound, as it seems to us, by any law either of God or man, when an individual or a nation has opened a shop, and we among others have entered that shop, to submit to be, not civilly informed that the shop-keeper does not wish for our custom, but driven out with kicks and hootings, for no other pretence than that a relation of ours, over whose actions we have no complete control, though whatever control we might have has been exercised to prevent the act in question, has done some act which has displeased the shop-keeper. So far from submitting tamely to such treatment from the shop-keeper, we should most unquestionably turn upon him and give him a drubbing that he should remember to the last day of his natural life, and that should be to all such as he a lesson of good government and good manners to all time. Let us suppose that we send out a squadron,—that we take the most efficient plan to make known to the Celestial Court itself that we deem ourselves insulted, and mean to have reparation for the insult,—that we sail up the Yellow Sea to the point nearest to Peking; that we “single out the vital part of our adversary, and the point of it which is most exposed; that in that vulnerable heart we plant our dagger, so that the remotest limb shall quiver with the shock.” Supposing all this, it behooves us also to consider what will be the consequences when the vibrations of that shock have passed away. We might, to be sure, perhaps without very great difficulty, effect a revolution in China. The Chinese are by no means reconciled to the Tartar yoke. We might pull down the Tartar and set a Chinaman in his place, but then, how long would the Chinaman remain? When you once begin to pull down an elderly edifice, there is no saying where you are to stop. And so we arrive at the point in the circle where we were some pages back,—viz. that we should incur a terrible responsibility by disturbing the governing forces that at present act upon the Chinese people.

Nevertheless we are inclined to think that the latter course would be, upon the whole, the best; and the course which a ruler or minister at once bold and able, resolute and wary, would adopt. We should send out a fleet and army (a draft of troops from India would probably be sufficient), land as near to Peking as possible; distribute manifestoes everywhere as we advanced, that we do not mean to plunder the property of the Chinese, or to interfere in the least with the *Chinese laws and institutions*; that our sole quarrel is with the Tartar invaders; and our object to place a Chinese on the throne instead of a Tartar; and to restore to China whatever of her institutions or customs, abolished by the Tartars, she wished to have restored. We should march to Peking, pluck the Tartar from his throne, place a Chinaman in his seat, and make the sole condition of giving him his empire that he would sanction free trade with all the world. We think that all this might be done at less expense than a paltry, peddling, indecisive measure would cost, especially if we take into account the consequences of these inefficient measures, which, like every thing at first cheap and bad, are always the most expensive in the end. It seems probable, from the following account of certain secret political associations in China, that the work of overturning the Tartar government would not be a difficult one. In fact the fear of something of this kind is said to be at the

bottom of the extraordinary jealousy of foreign intercourse entertained by the Tartar government of China.

The fraternities which are most dreaded by the Government of China are those secret associations, under various mysterious names, which combine for purposes, either religious or political, or perhaps both together. Of the first description, the sect of the 'Water-lily' (a sacred plant), and that of the 'Incense-burners' are both denounced in the 7th section of the Shing-yu; and with them is confounded the Roman Catholic worship, under the same prohibition. The present weak state of the government renders it particularly jealous of all secret societies whatever, as well as cruel and unrelenting in punishing their leaders. But the chief object of its dread and persecution is the San-hó-hoey, or Triad Society, of which some description was given in 1823 by Dr. Milne. The name seems to imply that when Heaven, Earth and Man combine to favor them, they shall succeed in subverting the present Tartar dynasty, and that, in the meanwhile, every exertion is to be used to mature that event.

In October, 1828, a paper, of which the following is an exact translation, was found in the Protestant burial-ground at Macao, by a gentleman of the Company's Service, who, understanding the meaning of it, sent the production immediately to the mandarin of the district, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and who entreated that the matter might not be made public, as he should be severely punished for the mere discovery of such a seditious paper within his district:

"Vast was the central nation—flourishing the heavenly dynasty,  
A thousand regions sent tribute—ten thousand nations did homage;  
But the Tartars obtained it by fraud—and this grudge can never be assuaged.  
Enlist soldiers, procure horses—display aloft the flowery standard,  
Raise troops, and seize weapons—let us exterminate the Manchow race."

Dr. Milne's account of the Triad Society, whose nature and objects he took some pains to investigate, is so curious as to deserve particular notice.

The name of this association means, "the Society of the Three United," that is, of Heaven, Earth and Man, which, according to the imperfect notions and expressions of Chinese philosophy, imply the three departments of Nature. There is a well-known Chinese Cyclopædia, arranged under these three heads. In the reign of Kea-king, about the commencement of the present century, the Triad Society, under another name, spread itself rapidly through the provinces, and had nearly succeeded in overturning the government. In 1803 its machinations were frustrated, and the principal leaders seized and put to death, the official reports stating to the emperor that "not a single member of that rebellious fraternity was left alive." But the fact was otherwise, for they still existed, and, with a view to secrecy, adopted the name which they at present bear.—*Davis's Chinese*, Vol. II. p. 15.

Whatever the British Government mean to do, we conceive it to be sound advice to them to "*do it quickly*." On the point of reducing the Chinese to an acquiescence in those rules by which civilized nations conduct their

intercourse, all parties are agreed. This has appeared even from the terms of Sir J. Graham's late factious and most unwarrantable attack upon the Ministry. And as this has become the unavoidable duty of any minister, Whig or Tory, we have only to express our hope that it may be executed in the most effective and rapid manner. For the sake of humanity, the contest, if contest there is to be, must be as short as the employment of vast resources can make it. We have less to revenge ourselves for the past, than to secure our position for the future. Nothing can do this so well as the display of our power to punish, and then, but not till then, our readiness to pardon.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### THE WAR WITH CHINA:—THE OPIUM QUESTION.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

HAVING presented, in the preceding article, the reasonings of the *British and Foreign Review*, in respect to the Opium Question, and in defence of the recently commenced war against China, we proceed, in fulfilment of our promise, to exhibit, briefly, the other side of these vexed and important questions. Our materials are derived principally from the *Asiatic Journal* and *Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia*, which, as the reader will perceive, is one among the few English periodicals which have dared boldly to advocate the rights of the eastern nations against the encroachments of British power.

But before we introduce the arguments against the war, it may be proper to state, in few words, its progress, and the present position of the parties. The latest accounts from China, at the time of our preparing this article, are to the first of August. They communicate the facts of the arrival of the British expedition in the Chinese waters, the formal blockade of the port and river of Canton, the conquest and possession of the island of Chusan, etc. Chusan, says the *Chinese Repository*, is a large island, about thirty miles in length, and fifteen miles in breadth, surrounded by numerous islands or islets, of every grade, from about one fourth the size of the principal island, to mere barren rocks just rising above the surface of the water. On its southern side is a considerable walled town, named Tinghae, in front of which is the principal harbor which the island affords, in lat.  $30^{\circ} 36'$  N. long.  $121^{\circ} 11'$  E. The East India Company had a factory in Chusan till the middle of the eighteenth century, but their records are full of complaints of the vexations and extortions their trade suffered there; but the *Amherst*, in the course of her experimental voyage to the N. E. coast of China, in 1832, visited the Chusan Archipelago, and landed at Chinhae and Tinghae, and

were well received.\* Possession of this island, it appears, was easily achieved. The population of the whole group of islands is said not to exceed 60,000, and awed by the appearance of a British squadron, and still more by the excesses of the soldiery, a large portion of them have left the islands.

From Tinghae, Captain Elliot had endeavored to get a communication forwarded to the Emperor, through the mandarins of Ningpo; but it was respectfully returned. He then proceeded northward, with a part of his squadron, for the purpose of making a demonstration at the entrance of the river of the northern Capital, and to frighten the inmates of the palace. The result of this movement will soon be known. The age and infirmities of the present Emperor, however, afford no ground of apprehension that any energetic measures will be adopted by him; and it is hoped by the friends of the expedition that some one of the princes will appeal to the British for aid to ascend the throne, which will place the empire at their disposal. But nothing is known by us as to the probabilities of such an occurrence. Nor is it certain that the Chinese will make no resistance. Their repeated attempts to destroy the British fleet by fire and by poison, and the large rewards offered for the apprehension of British officers, etc., show that they are not without some hope of success; and if they once gain an advantage, their reduction may yet be attended with more expense of life and far greater difficulties, than have yet been dreamed of by their invaders.

Meantime, our readers will desire to know the grounds assumed by Admiral Elliot, on his return to the Chinese coast, to justify his demands in the name of the British government. The following is the English translation of a manifesto in the Chinese language, issued June 26, 1840:

"Twelve months since the emperor was graciously pleased to depute Lin, the commissioner, to come to these provinces, and suppress the traffic in opium. He found it stagnant; he has made it flourish here, and along the whole coasts of the empire. The emperor commanded the commissioner to regulate and protect the lawful trade. He has thrown it into a smuggled form, and heavy losses have been cast upon all persons pursuing it, both native and English. The emperor, in his wisdom and justice, commanded the commissioner to treat the foreigners with firmness, but with consideration; carefully separating the right from the wrong, so that there might be no reasonable cause for irritation and future trouble with the English government. The commissioner disregarded the immediate offer of Elliot to fulfil the imperial pleasure, which he was ready faithfully to do, in a manner consistent with the dignity of the empire, with the preservation of the peace and with obligations of justice to innocent and absent men, unconnected with the traffic in opium; but, on the contrary, forthwith confined Elliot a close prisoner at Canton, and so detained him for several weeks; proceeded to constrain the whole foreign community, by the stoppage of their supplies of food and of fresh water; and under these circumstances of lawless and most violent restraint, required Elliot to deliver up all the opium in the possession of his countrymen under pain of death.

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\* Asiatic Journal, Dec. 1840.



"How has the commissioner dared to degrade the majesty of China and of England by these insulting and violent proceedings towards an English functionary, acknowledged by his Imperial Majesty, and who has always respected the laws of the empire, and faithfully fulfilled his public obligations? And which would have been the most effectual means of accomplishing the imperial pleasure? Those that Elliot had offered and was ready to take, founded upon the separation of the innocent from the offending, and accompanied by precautions and securities that would have given permanent efficacy to such distinctions; or those of senseless violence, casting upon the whole transaction the character of shameful spoliation? The commissioner preferred a career of needless and spoliatory constraint, which has made amplest reparation a duty of highest obligation in the government of England, which has broken to pieces all sense of confidence in the wisdom or justice of the provincial government, and which has had the effect of immediately reviving the opium traffic at all points of the coast with the utmost vigor.

"The emperor admonished the commissioner to maintain the honor and dignity of the empire. He has over and over again violated his pledges under the seal of the empire, and left the word of a high officer without weight in the estimation of all men, native and foreign. When a native of the land was unhappily killed at Hong-kong, in the month of July last, in a riot, in which several tens of foreign seamen were engaged (Americans as well as English), Elliot closely investigated it according to the forms of his country, invited the honorable officers of the empire to attend, and severely punished those persons who were convicted of participation in the disorder. But because he could not succeed in discovering the perpetrator of the murder, and would not consent to deliver up an innocent man for execution, what are the proceedings of the commissioner? He forcibly drives away from Macao—a place situated more than forty miles from the scene of riot—the whole British community, aged and infirm persons, women almost in the pains of child-birth, and young children. He causes vessels engaged in lawful pursuits, or in carrying away some of these innocent fugitives (Spanish as well as British), to be cowardly attacked by an overwhelming force in the night-time and burnt. Nine or ten innocent persons, some Spanish and some English, lose their lives, some are cruelly mutilated, some still detained in captivity upon the most false pretences, and under circumstances terribly disgraceful to the empire. Poison is put into the springs of water. The English people were driven to conflict to procure supplies of food; worthy officers and soldiers of the empire have fallen a sacrifice to the violence of the commissioner; and falsehood upon falsehood have been reported to the emperor, and proclaimed to the people, to cover these bloody and disgraceful proceedings.

"When the commissioner came to Canton, the empire was at peace and respected by the whole world. His first act was one of the most unprovoked war against the English nation, by the imprisonment and wanton insult of the English officer, who had already offered to fulfil the imperial pleasure. He found these great provinces tranquil and flourishing. In less than a year he has reduced them to the very verge of ruin and insurrection, and piracy and robbery stalk abroad unpunished.

"It is well known to the foreigners and the people of the province, that many of the provincial authorities, wise and honorable men, acquainted with the foreign character, have remonstrated against these foolish and dangerous proceedings, but he answered their counsels with contumely and menaces.

"The gracious Queen and the people of the English nation venerate the emperor, and cherish the people of the empire. But great injuries have been perpetrated, and the truth must now be known to his Imperial Majesty, to the end that the evil-doers may be punished, and that all things may be re-established on a sure and honorable basis.

"Let the natives of the land pursue their ordinary occupations in peace and security, in the assurance that no violence will be offered to them or their property, whilst they are opposing none to the forces of the Queen of England. The officers of the English nation are strictly commanded to protect and cherish the people of the land.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT."

The above document we extract from the *Asiatic Journal*, which also contains the following statement of the export of tea to England, since the first of October, 1839, quoted from the *Canton Press*, May 2, 1840.

	lbs.		lbs.
Bohea, . . . . .	192,542	Hyson, . . . . .	1,486,525
Congo, . . . . .	16,653,025	Young Hyson, . . . .	650,357
Caper, . . . . .	329,201	Imperial, . . . . .	235,710
Campoy, . . . . .	19,206	Gunpowder, . . . . .	598,687
Souchong, . . . . .	136,998		
Hung Muey, . . . . .	101,475	Green, . . . . .	6,216,609
Pekoe, . . . . .	242,544	Black, . . . . .	18,609,987
Orange Pekoe, . . . .	535,196		
Twankay, . . . . .	3,120,249	Total, . . lbs.	24,826,596
Hyson Skin, . . . . .	115,081		

to which must be added about a million and a half sent to Singapore for transhipment.

Such is the system of morals which the British nation is endeavoring to inculcate upon the Chinese, and to the principles of which, submission is demanded at the cannon's mouth. If the traffic contended for were harmless or reciprocally useful, there would be great plausibility in the reasoning by which the right of the British to protect it is defended. But when it is remembered that opium is a destroyer, of the most fearful character,—that the price of its continued sale in China must be the ruin of millions of its population,—that the East India Company have desolated whole provinces of the East to produce it, and that they urge the necessity of this detestable traffic solely on the ground that it is a source of profit to themselves,—we cannot forbear the expression of our shame and sorrow that the professedly Christian government of England has allowed itself to be involved in such a war. No faults of the Chinese,—no consideration of the facilities, which may be afforded for the spread of Christianity, can justify it; and no brilliancy of success can wipe away the reproach which a war thus occasioned has brought upon the Protestant, Christian name.—SR. ED.

From the Asiatic Journal.

THE current of popular opinion, upon the subject of the war with China, has appeared to run with so much impetuosity towards the false and prejudiced side of the question, that we have abandoned in despair all attempts to stem it. Party feelings have co-operated with ignorance, and with a malicious desire to see the pride and arrogance of the Chinese humbled, in blinding the nation to the real merits of the case; and even the religious part of it, having persuaded themselves that the Indian Government has been a party to the opium traffic, has apparently suffered that consideration (which, if founded in truth, should rather increase our sympathy for the Chinese), and the belief that war will open an entrance for Christianity into the empire of China, to relax those efforts in the cause of justice and humanity, which we at one time hoped to see successful.

Never was a question so obscured by ignorance and prejudice as this has been. In estimating the character of the Chinese nation, their history, their institutions, presumption has supplied the place of sober and docile inquiry. Books have been written about China and the Chinese, which, if they were not undertaken with the deliberate design of depreciating the character of both, have accidentally realized that object. A question which, if unconnected with the pecuniary interests of an influential party, and with that spirit of political rancor which infects every subject it mingles with, would have been settled upon those principles of justice and good faith, which constitute the "universal law of society," is, on the contrary, made a pretext for perpetrating a wrong that will leave, whatever be its political advantages, an indelible stain upon the moral character and national honor of Britain.

In the midst of that defection from the cause of truth and honesty, which has characterized the press of England upon the subject of the quarrel with China, it is most gratifying to us to find the view of this question, which we have advocated from the first, taken up by so powerful a champion as the *Times* paper, which, occasionally, treats of the subject with that precision of argument, and power of language, which it brings to the discussion of every political question, and which, had time permitted, might, by its influence upon public opinion, have interposed an obstacle to this shameful attack upon an almost unoffending state.

An article in the *Times* of November 6th contains some observations on this subject in which we fully concur :

" We wish to direct our readers' attention to one of the many astounding modes of talk, which are to be encountered about the world, with nothing but their own audacity, and the apparent interest of some two or three hundred of her Majesty's subjects to back them, much to the astonishment of simple-hearted men. No small number of people seem really to have persuaded themselves that, for the interests of civilization,

or of the East-India Company, or of the British empire, or for some other equally sufficient reason, we, a Christian nation, need consider ourselves under no obligations of justice or mercy towards any countries who are unhappy enough to be a long way off, to have no allies, no ambassadors, no art of war, no international law. "Really, as to those Chinese," they say, "their impertinence ought to be put down;" and then, as to reasons, "They ought to be thankful for having been let alone so long." "Why, one regiment of infantry might march from one end of the country to the other," and so on. This way of settling the matter makes such slight pretence to honesty, or excuse for dishonesty, that it may be left to its own intrinsic merits, being simply a way of saying, "We want tea and territory, and will have them." But some people are philosophical and candid on the subject. They would not meddle with China—not they; but that the Chinese have infringed the recognized law of all civilized nations. And if you ask them how the Chinese were to know any thing about, or how they are bound to obey this recognized law,—“As to that,” they say, “if a nation will hold itself aloof from the rest of the world—the great society of humanity—the family of nations”—that very united family—“if they will not march with civilization, and learn to obey its rules, they must be content to be considered as outlaws; and if in their intercourse with others they are ignorant enough to break our laws, they must not complain if we break theirs, and explain the existing state of political science to them by cannon-balls and musketry; in fact, that an enlightened people like the English will be wanting to themselves, if they let slip such an occasion of teaching 150,000,000 of savages their duty, and settling the tea-trade on a satisfactory basis.”

This is precisely the jargon, for we cannot term it reasoning, which we hear from nine-tenths of the persons who fancy themselves fully competent to deliver an opinion upon this question.

“Now, it is clear enough that nothing is easier than to lead on any government or people to break laws of which they are utterly ignorant; and, therefore, if this reasoning is true, that it is in our power to pick a quarrel with the Chinese just when we please, and to persevere in it just as long as we think expedient; and that then, after having revolutionized some provinces, ravaged others, killed some few thousands of the Chinese, and appropriated two or three fortresses to facilitate future interference, we may proceed to congratulate ourselves on our magnanimity, because all along we could have made out a capital case before the Judge of an Admiralty Court; and all this on the plea that, ‘if they were not so abominably unsociable, they would have known better.’

“Now, let us just look at the case to which this mode of reasoning is applied. English traders cross to India, set up factories, encroach, put the native princes in a passion, quarrel with them (perhaps with reason), settle the quarrel with a strong hand, and then, after every success, “take such measures as are necessary for putting their own interests into a state



of security for the future,"—in plain English, subjugate the country, then find out by degrees that the English possessions in India are an empire, and must in the nature of things, and from mere self-preservation, be progressive, and accordingly progress as far as Ghuznee and Arracan. This may be all very right; self-preservation is a very urgent motive; native princes are very capricious, faithless and cruel; the East-India Company is, and always was the *Honorable* East-India Company. But then they cross to China; here, again, they profess a desire for factories, a few privileges and a recognized existence; but the Emperor of China does not want either to quarrel or to barter, or to enter into any relations with them; he does not like such strong people on his premises, particularly when progression is the law of their existence; he does not wish to put himself or his successor in a position where they will lose their empire the first time they do, or the East-India Company says they do, put themselves in the wrong.

"Now, considering the particular capacity in which all the next-door neighbors of the Chinese, who have allowed European civilization and traffic "to march" among them, the nabobs of Oude, the Great Moguls, the sultans of the Mysore country, have been admitted into the great "family of nations," it does seem to require a very unusual kind of front to maintain that the Chinese are to forfeit the ordinary rights of nations because they are a little shy of this family, because they hesitate to relax, in favor of this very imperious and encroaching "civilization," usages under which for centuries they have enjoyed as much peace and temporal prosperity as they care about having, and a good deal more than they are likely to have for some generations after civilization and the East-India Company have fairly begun to extend their empire among them. Their common sense, and our common sense, and plain experience, tell them that their only chance of preserving their being as a nation is to keep clear of us. And this precaution of theirs, forced on them by our own grasping thirst of empire, or at least the ignorance of our law, which is its consequence, we dare to treat as a crime, and punish accordingly. With our law China has nothing to do. The European law of nations is binding on us, because founded on certain known relations and usages between certain given nations. Those who sin against it know, or might know, that they do so. The countries to which they belong, and from which they are content to receive protection, and sustenance, and all the blessings of civilized life, have tacitly, at the least, sanctioned it; and they themselves, probably, owe to it no small portion of what security and prosperity they enjoy. China owes it nothing, has never acknowledged it, does not know, and, so long as it keeps to itself, within its own undisputed territory, cannot be called upon to know, what it is. If she had invited our commerce, perhaps we might set up the shadow of a claim that our intercourses should be carried on on something like our own terms. If she had intruded herself even on the sea, we might with some reason claim of her that she should accept the laws by which those merchants of Europe who have half-appropriated it are governed. But neither of these is pretended. If the Chinese governor guarantied any

privilege to our merchants, we might enforce the execution of his pledges. Or, again, if Englishmen had been cast by inevitable necessity on her shores, shipwrecked or marooned there, we might claim for our countrymen such security and liberty as man owes to man, and as governments are bound to secure to him, if necessary, by arms. Or, if we came into contact with the Chinese at the court of a foreign potentate, we should at any rate meet on equal terms, and should be at liberty to insist on the rights of equality. Under each of these circumstances, we should be able and bound to enforce the broad rules of justice and right. Not even this is the case. China does not seek us, does not meet us beyond its own shores. We are not cast upon China. She keeps within her own borders; we pursue her there; she closes her doors; we sue for admission; she grants it partially and cautiously, subjecting us to vexatious obstacles, and reminding us again and again that we come as merchants, and that if we come at all, we must come subject to China law. With these conditions in our ears, and before our eyes, we *do* come. Can we pretend, in the face of all this, to the remotest right to bring with us our notions about the sacredness of ambassadors, the dignity of the national flag, and the rights of freeborn Englishmen? We have given these up, have sold them (at least the Chinese traders have) for money (or at least for tea), when we set foot on Chinese ground. And then for our merchants to turn round and claim all these rights, which, unless some dishonest quibble is to be hunted out, they have renounced for a consideration, or for their Government to come forward and interfere as an unshackled party, and for the merchants to accept such interference, when its exclusion was explicitly stipulated by one party, and tacitly, at least, accepted by the other, is mere double-dealing or thimble-rig. Our merchants have subjected themselves to Chinese law, and if consequences are to be taken by anybody, it must be by them, not by the Chinese. The fact is, that these overbearing pretences, by which we would summarily justify our interference, really mean one of two things—either that civilized nations are so far higher in the scale of being than their uninstructed fellow-creatures, that they are privileged to make these latter mere instruments for the production of tea and crockery, and to cannonade them if they begin to slacken in their work; or else that we enterprising Englishmen, residing in latitude 50 deg., longitude 0 deg., under a free government some centuries old, are so entirely capable of consulting for the good of an inert people, quietly making the best of a despotism of immemorial standing in latitude 20 deg. and east longitude 110 deg., that we are justified in enforcing our views upon these poor helpless wax-dolls, by mowing them down with grapeshot. Which is it that men mean? Is it our own profit, or that of the poor Chinese, that justifies us in bringing down upon them our tremendous powers of killing? Is it the absurdity in supposing that these unfortunate creatures can possibly have the right to deprive free and independent Englishmen of the power of importing their own bohea, or in fancying that there is any subject on the face of the earth, even in the extreme east of Asia, which English politicians are not privileged to meddle in?"

Whichever it is, it ought to be exposed and hooted down at once. The one plea is undisguised selfishness; the other is neither more nor less than a new shape of the old doctrine of the worst sort of Roman Catholics, *Nulla fides cum hæreticis*; the extinct system of wholesale persecution hunted up again, not in the name of religion, but of civilization.

These sentiments, of unquestionable soundness, ought to make us, as a Christian people, reflect with compunction upon the sacrifice of life which our rulers have authorized, to gratify either the sordid appetite of illegal traders, or the hardly less culpable jealousy towards a people who, from policy or inclination, shun our dangerous connexion.

Nothing now remains but to hope that the duties of war, prescribed by the law of nations, will be better regarded by us towards the Chinese than those of peace. "The general law of nations," says the President Montesquieu,\* "is founded upon this principle, that different nations ought in time of peace to do one another all the good they can, and in time of war, as little harm as possible, without prejudice to their own real interests."

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## ARTICLE VIII.

SWEDISH LITERATURE :—THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE PAINTER HÖRBERG.

*Translated and abridged from an article by C. Molbech, in the Skandinaviske Litteraturselskabs Skrifter, 12te og 13de Aargang.*

By George P. Marsh, Esq., Burlington, Vt.

THE Northern Artist, of whose life and character we here attempt to communicate the most important traits, exhibits a remarkable instance of the early manifestation, and ultimate triumph of genius, under circumstances apparently the most adverse to its development. Nature designed him for a painter, and bestowed upon him the rarest endowments for the exercise of that profession; and he became an artist, in spite of all the obstacles, which humble birth and rank, poverty, and want of instruction, education and cultivated taste could create. Reared in a peasant's hut, and trained from childhood to the humblest rural labors, surrounded by wild, barren and melancholy natural scenery, a prey to grinding penury and want in youth, and literally laboring for his bread through life, if not always in the sweat of his brow, yet always in humble poverty, almost without instruction, and long without the aid of models or examples, he yet attained the eminence to which his genius called him, though he did not become so finished an artist as those masters, who have been happily enabled to unite the cultivation of talent by models and instruction with

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\* *Esprit des Lois*, b. 1, c. 7.

the development of great natural endowments. We must consider him as one of the rarest and most gifted artists that the last century produced; and he has proved, that under the frigid sky of the North, and on her rocky soil, the palm-tree of art may shoot forth from the spire of genius, if not with the glowing lustre and luxurious coloring of the South, yet with all her power and richness of spirit and invention.

Peter Hörberg was born on the 31st January, A. D. 1746, in the parish of Virestad, in Småland. His father, Aage, was from the parish of Hör, in Skåne, and took his surname from the name of his parish, when he was enrolled as a soldier in the regiment of Kronoberg, in which he served till 1763. His mother, Benedicta Gisadotter, was the daughter of a householder in Virestad, and they possessed no means of sustaining life, but the labor of their hands. The child was weak and sickly in his early years, and had not strength to walk until his third year. In his fifth year, his parents began to teach him reading, and other branches of knowledge, as well as they were able. His father procured him a "copy" from another soldier; from which he learned something of writing, and always retained the character of the unpractised hand of his first master. In the spring of 1755, Peter, then nine years of age, was obliged to go out to service, and spent the summer in attending upon two small children of another soldier in the neighborhood. His compensation for the season consisted in a pair of mittens, and a violin valued at twenty-four coppers. In the winter, which he passed at his father's, he strung his violin with horse-hair, and taught himself to play. His progress in music was so gratifying to his father, that he purchased him a better instrument, with proper strings, for two dollars, in the following spring. The two following summers were spent in a different course of life. He left his home, and served as a shepherd boy in the employment of two peasants of the parish, whose sheep and cattle he drove out every morning, according to the Swedish custom, to gather the spare and scattered grass among the rocks and stones, or in the woods, or newly-burned fallows, and watched them through the day.

At that time, the almanacs and small catechisms used in Sweden were coarsely ornamented with rude wood-cuts. To obtain one of these books was entirely beyond the means of poor Peter, and he endeavored to imitate the figures from memory, on birch bark, for want of paper. Such were his earliest attempts at drawing. But he also carved with his knife various objects and figures in fir-bark, or soft wood, and with these he decorated the walls of his father's cabin. It was a great pleasure to him to exhibit to his playmates the altar-piece, and other ornaments of the remote parish church, which his juvenile art had thus endeavored to imitate, and the neighboring peasants esteemed his dexterity so highly, that they often employed him to carve heads, birds and other objects, to serve for cane-heads: but these patrons, as he remarks, were rather admirers than judges of art. Carving in wood, however, was but the amusement of an idle hour, while drawing and painting incessantly occupied his serious thoughts, both early and late, at home and abroad. The mere outline of figures did not satisfy him long. He soon proceeded to finish and adorn



them with colors, though he had no small difficulty in contriving the means. He had never heard of mixing the dry colors with size or oil, and he discovered for himself the method of using ochre, burnt clay, chalk and charcoal, which is practised by painters in crayons. His pictures were generally drawn on wainscoting, or newly planed boards, as he was very seldom able to procure even gray paper for this purpose. Whenever he succeeded in obtaining a bit of writing paper, he drew with a pen, using the juice of various berries to color and shade his drawings. But he was not idle while watching his flock in the woods and fields. He there drew figures with a sharpened stick on the white surface of various fungi, and designed upon the smooth rocks, using fir-bark for red chalk, and charcoal from the burnt fallows for black; and often brought upon himself the ridicule of the other shepherd boys, who observed him walking backwards, with head inclined and eyes intent, to view his work at the proper distance.

It was thus that the innate artistical impulse strove to develop itself, in spite of the unfavorable circumstances under which it was manifested. Hörberg arrived at the age of sixteen, without having received the slightest instruction from man, but Nature had been his teacher from his seventh year. His progress in art was of course slow, but the foundation of his characteristic peculiarities as an artist was doubtless laid during this period. In the mean time, he was oppressed, not only by the constantly increasing and more deeply felt want of instruction, and of external means of satisfying the aspirations of his genius, but by aggravated poverty, and actual physical want. In his thirteenth year, the scarcity of grain was such in Småland, that his parents were compelled, much against their own will as well as that of their son, to enrol him as a reserve recruit in his father's regiment. The object of this was to obtain the bounty of a barrel of grain, to mix with chaff and cut straw; and upon this meager supply, they contrived to sustain the lives of themselves and their four children through the winter. The following year (1759), the famine was so severe, that his parents were reduced to the necessity of sending out Peter and his oldest sister as mendicants; and the children owed their subsistence for a whole year, to the precarious charity of the peasants, to whom Peter's violin often rendered the poor wanderers more acceptable visitants. In the summer, he succeeded in obtaining employment as a shepherd boy, in a neighboring parish, and pursued the same occupation the following season also.

About the end of July, in this last year, while Peter was occupied in drawing in the woods, a wolf attacked his scattered flock, killed several sheep, and worried others. Conscious as he was, that this unlucky affair was the consequence of his own negligence, he dared not return to his employer's, but immediately decamped with his violin and shepherd's pipe, on which he had learned to play a few airs, and made the best of his way to his father's cabin, about ten English miles distant. He did not venture to remain here long, but pretending that he had leave of absence from his master, he left his parents after a stay of two days, and taking his wallet, which he had hid in the woods, he resumed his old trade, and begged his

way to Glimåkra, in Skåne. Here he remained, at an estate called Olofstorp, until October, and then returned to his native place with his earnings, amounting, besides a small addition to his wardrobe, to about two shillings. But we are anticipating our narrative.

As early as the spring of the year 1760, Peter had resolved to apprentice himself to a master painter, supposing that all such were literally *masters* in the art. The nearest painter resided at Wexiö, about thirty-five miles from Virestad, and with him Peter determined to commence his studies; and though his parents were much dissatisfied with his resolution, they consented to his departure, but his father refused to accompany him. Our poor peasant-boy, now at the age of fourteen, visited, for the first time, a market-town, and every thing he saw filled him with astonishment and admiration. A diffident reverence for all whom he imagined to be above the rank of a peasant increased his natural bashfulness, and the first who addressed him was obliged to repeat his question four or five times, before the youth could muster self-possession to answer so dignified a personage as he conceived the honest burgher to be. He had, fortunately, fallen in with a good-natured peasant from Virestad, on the way, who kindly allowed him to *ride and tie*, and conducted him to the painter at Wexiö, who rejoiced in the pleasant name of Johan Christian Zschotzscher. From this master, he received at first very little encouragement. The painter had already apprentices enough, and was then expecting two more, whom he had previously engaged to receive. Meanwhile, he allowed Peter to give a specimen of his *savoir faire*, with a bit of chalk on a black-board, and for a long time refused to believe, that he had received no instruction. The painter now allowed him to remain until the next day, and he made his first attempt in painting with proper size colors. On the backside of an oak board, used to cut tobacco upon, he painted, from his own original design, a figure intended to represent St. John the Evangelist. This performance the master kept, but allowed him to paint another figure, to take home with him, as an evidence that he had been with a painter, and at last promised to take him into his service, if he could procure his discharge from his enrolment as a reserve recruit. To obtain this, his father must refund the bounty, one rix dollar and two thirds, for which he had sold the freedom of his son, in the time of famine. His poverty was such, that he was unable to do this, until two years afterwards, and in the mean time, Peter was obliged to serve as a shepherd-boy, and it was during this period, that the unlucky affair of the wolf took place.

He was at length discharged from the reserve service, in the spring of the year 1762, and on the 13th of April, of that year, his indentures of apprenticeship were executed, by which he was to serve and be instructed, for five years from the next Michaelmas. He obtained leave to spend the Christmas holidays with his parents, and having provided himself with colors, he painted at this time several pieces of a kind of hangings, called *bonad*, which the peasants in many parts of Sweden employ to decorate their apartments at Christmas. These are of linen, and the paintings are generally scenes from Scripture history, with explanatory inscriptions.

For these paintings, Peter received about half-a-dollar, and this was the first money he earned as a painter. "For half this sum," says he, "my mother bought me tow-cloth for an apron, and with the remainder, I purchased a lock for a little chest, which my father had made for me the preceding fall. I had no means of conveying my chest to Wexiö, but by drawing it on a little sled, which I did. The contents of the chest were my new apron, and a pair of wooden shoes, which my father had also made for me." Such was Hörberg's entrance upon his career as an artist, and little did he, or his meanly endowed master imagine what genius and what talent reposed under the wadmél jacket and tow-cloth apron of the peasant-boy.

His expectations in regard to his course of instruction were very imperfectly fulfilled. He soon discovered that master Zschotzscher was far from being a master of his art, and for a long time our hero's only employment was laying on grounds and grinding colors. Sunday afternoon was the only time allowed him and his fellow apprentices for practice in drawing; "but the misfortune was," says he, "that our master was quite incompetent to instruct us." Hörberg remained an apprentice about four years, and won the favor and affection of his severe and capricious master to that degree, that the latter, on his death-bed, was about to bequeath him eight dollars, and all his wardrobe; but the master's kind intentions were frustrated by the objections of his son, and Hörberg was obliged to be content with about three dollars, in consideration of which, moreover, he was obliged to complete all the unfinished work in the shop.

Provided with honorable testimonials from the magistrates of Wexiö, he first returned to his parents, and afterwards repaired to Gottenburg, to obtain his license as a journeyman. In this he succeeded with some difficulty, and after having applied five dollars, his whole worldly estate, towards the payment of the official fees, and the expenses of eight days detention, he returned homeward, a dollar and a half in debt, and with six coppers in his pocket. With this viaticum, he commenced his journey of (27 Swedish) 190 English miles, and after travelling sixty miles, he was obliged to sell, at half cost, his "new red felt hat," for which he had paid a dollar and a half at Wexiö. After arriving at his father's, he painted *bonader* until he earned enough to discharge his debt at Gottenburg, and in May, 1767, he entered into the service of a painter at Carlshamn. But as he was obliged fairly to beg for employment, his master gave him but a pair of shoes for two months' work, and he was contemptuously treated by the "proud wife and saucy children." His self-respect forbade him to endure this, but he held out until he had remitted the money to Gottenburg, and received his certificate of license; after which he applied to the painter Luthman of Wexiö, who gladly received him into his service.

He remained here from July, 1767, to April, 1768, and having, in the mean time, with his master painted in oil four apartments at an estate in Småland, called Prinsnäs, the proprietor of the estate, C. B. von Scheele, offered to procure him a license as district painter, the fees for which, however, poor Hörberg was obliged to pay. He accepted this license,

partly because the wages he earned as a journeyman were exceedingly small, and partly because he hoped, by being more master of his time, to make greater progress in his art. There is no doubt, that this early release from service was of great advantage to Hörberg, and far more propitious to the development of his genius, than a longer continuance in the humble station of a journeyman under ignorant masters would have been; and he now returned from the petty and narrow occupations of the market-towns, to rural life and the freedom of nature, with which he had been familiar in early childhood. His imagination, now no longer under restraint, began to unfold its luxuriant abundance; nor did poverty and want repress an intellectual energy, which enabled him to bear these and all the burdens of life with a pious, cheerful and manly spirit.

Young Hörberg first established himself as a district painter in the parish of Almisåkra in Jönköpings Län. His dwelling was near the church and belonged to the parish priest, J. M. Collin; who, as well as his amiable wife, always behaved towards Hörberg rather as parents than as landlords. "Since I now," says he, in his sketch of his own life, "had abandoned the design of attempting to push my fortune in the great world, I concluded that my days would pass more happily in the condition of matrimony, and in order to avoid embarrassment and occasion of reproach in that state, I judged I should make the wisest choice, if I selected a wife neither richer nor of better condition than myself." Accordingly at the age of twenty four, he married Maria Eriksdotter, a servant girl, a few weeks older than himself. Her father was a peasant in narrow circumstances, with eight children.

Poverty, therefore, was the lot of the new married pair. They had not even a pot, or a wood axe, but managed to make shift by borrowing; however, after they had lived together a year and a half, their prosperity increased to that degree, that they were able to purchase that necessary utensil, an iron pot, and now thought themselves independent. "My parents in law," says he, "held out no false hopes of a dowry, but gave me, thank God! what I asked, their daughter for a wife,—a wife with whom I have lived happy and contented." This declaration of the husband himself we are bound to believe; but it is nevertheless quite certain, that this woman, in more respects than one, was wholly unworthy to be the wife of Hörberg. She was of altogether too narrow a spirit to sympathize with the aspirations of his soul, or to comprehend that a mind, occupied and inspired by the conceptions of genius and art, could require any other than mere material nourishment. She regarded his art as a trade, and was content so long as it sustained him and his family, but scolded whenever the earnings of his pencil fell short of supplying their common wants. It is a strong proof of Hörberg's gentleness of spirit, his strict sense of duty and amiable temper, that he lived an affectionate and contented life with a woman, who, whatever advances her husband made in intellectual development, yet remained stationary at the same low grade of refinement and cultivation, and always contemplated his art, his life and all its aims, from the same low point of view.

Hörberg lived many years, after his marriage and establishment as



district painter, unknown in person and in genius to any one competent to judge of his merits. Even as late as 1783, the peasants held the district painter in so low estimation, that when the church at Fröderyd was to be whitewashed and painted, and Hörberg offered to undertake the work for a moderate remuneration, it was resolved at a parish meeting, "that their church should be painted in such style, as both to do them credit, and give them satisfaction;" for which reason they committed the proposed decorations to a painter from Wexiö. The pencil alone could no longer sustain Hörberg and his family, and it now proved fortunate that his father had taught him various handicrafts. He not only constructed his own furniture, but made tables, boxes, sledges and even wooden shoes for other peasants in the neighborhood; and "thus," says he, "my necessities drove me to turn my hand to every lawful means of gain." After having lived some years as a tenant to the priest at Almisåkra, he accumulated enough to enable him to take a small farm in the parish, where he kept three cows, and paid about three dollars in taxes. In 1776, he took another farm, built himself, with his own hands, a more convenient dwelling, with chamber and garret; and as the cabin (so he calls it) was near the highway, he painted and put up a sign, with his name, and the words, *Pictoris Habitaculum*.

His wife had in the mean time, besides two daughters who died in infancy, bestowed upon him three sons, and he found that all the resources both of his art and his mechanical labors, would not suffice to sustain his increasing family. He, therefore, took a larger farm in 1783, and by a loan of about thirty dollars, procured seed corn, and the necessary stock. He now kept a laborer, and was consequently relieved, in some measure, from the heavier rural tasks; but he had not always opportunities for earning any thing by his profession. In the year 1783, when he had no work in hand, a clergyman from Kudby in Östergöthland, who happened to enter his hut, and inspect some of his productions, proposed to employ him to copy some portraits of the Gustavian royal family. Hörberg had already seriously resolved to make every exertion to visit Stockholm; and as at Kudby he would be half way to the capital, he determined to proceed thither, upon the clergyman's written invitation, notwithstanding the persuasions of which his wife, his relatives, and his neighbors made use to dissuade him from so wild a scheme.

Having once adopted this resolution, it was in vain that they represented to him his poverty, his ignorance of the world, and the indifference, coldness and jealous injustice he would probably meet, in the circle of artists of better condition. Not even the suggestion of the suffering to which his family might be exposed in consequence of his absence, nor the tears of his wife, or the caresses and prayers of his children could shake his purpose, when he was ready to commence his journey. "I cannot help it," said he to his wife, who hung, weeping, upon his neck, as she was about to part with him, in the way, "it is impossible for me to stay at home. Go back, and let me go where Providence calls me."

He had painted two compositions from the life of the Saviour, which

he intended to exhibit at Stockholm, and departed for that city about the middle of July, with his two pictures, and about a dollar and a half for travelling expenses. After four or five days' journey, he arrived at the residence of the clergyman of Kudby; but this gentleman had unluckily abandoned his purpose in relation to the copies, and Hörberg, who had already spent half his travelling money, received nothing for his journey but a supply of cold provisions, which the clergyman's wife gave him, when he resumed his march for Stockholm, after two days of rest and refreshment; for he adhered to his original purpose of visiting the capital, in spite of his disappointment at Kudby, and on the tenth day after he left his home, he reached that city, "weary, with blistered feet, his knapsack upon his back, and his roll of pictures under his arm." After various adventures in the first few days after his arrival, which he relates in his *Life* with a touching naïveté and simplicity, the poor wanderer succeeded in finding lodgings with a drunken countryman from Småland, a dragoon named Meierström, and in making himself known to Professor C. G. Pilo, Director of the Swedish Academy of Art, and to other professors of the Academy.

Pilo could not suppress his amazement, when he first saw Hörberg's pictures, heard that they were originals, and learned how little instruction the artist had received. He permitted him to draw from the casts at the Academy, and Hörberg, enchanted with the tragic beauty of the group of the Laocoon, which, to the astonishment of Pilo, he recognized at once, made his first drawing from that most noble work. After some hours, Pilo came to him, inspected and praised his drawing, inquired into his circumstances, and learned his wish to remain some time longer in Stockholm than his poverty would allow. "There is nothing in the world that I so earnestly desire," said he to Pilo, "but I see no possibility of remaining here a week, for I have scarcely half a dollar;" "for I was ashamed," observes he, "to tell the plain truth, that I had not even a dozen coppers." The next day, Pilo came to Hörberg, as he was drawing at the Academy, gave him a little instruction, and offered him a dinner, twice a week, *at his servants' table*. "This was a favor, which merited my sincerest acknowledgments," says our humble and grateful artist, in his autobiography: but, without any disposition to detract from the merit of Pilo's generosity to his richly endowed countryman and brother artist, we may safely say, that it did not at any rate exceed the measure of poor Hörberg's gratitude.

Hörberg remained in Stockholm eight weeks, availing himself chiefly of the counsels and instruction of Pilo, who was then the most eminent historical painter in Sweden, and was the only individual who exerted any proper immediate influence upon Hörberg, as an artist. But this influence extended little beyond the technicalities of art; for in all which pertains to the intellectual in painting, in fancy, ideas, invention and composition, nature had placed Hörberg on a far more elevated level than his instructor, whose only superiority over the pupil consisted in an earlier and better professional education. Pilo, moreover, was advanced in years, and but an indifferent artist. "He was," says the poet Atter-

bom, "altogether formed after the old French manner, which prevailed from Coypel to David, and of so little firmness as a designer, that he generally threw a red or blue drapery over the parts of the human form, which he dared not trust himself to represent. In composition he was vacillating and capricious; as a proof of which may be mentioned the painting of the Coronation of Gustavus III., referred to by Hörberg; for this he painted entirely over three times before he dismissed it as finished.

We cannot doubt that a longer residence at Stockholm would have been highly advantageous to his progress in art, and that a visit to Italy would have contributed powerfully to enlarge his conceptions, and enlighten his ideas, and to give to his still youthful and vigorous mind an abundant and inspiring nourishment. The sculptor Sergell, the first Swedish artist of his time, was fully sensible of this, and proposed to Gustavus III. to allow Hörberg to accompany him on His Majesty's visit to Rome, in 1784. But this monarch, the idol of his pensioned poets laureate, court sycophants and aulic rhetoricians, refused to the patriotic Sergell, though a favorite, this request; a compliance with which would have conferred on that vain and frivolous prince an honor, if merited, at least not anticipated. Gustavus was not endowed with sufficient discernment in art to appreciate the genius of Hörberg, and probably thought that the Småland peasant would scarcely harmonize with the rest of his brilliant retinue, and contribute little to augment the splendor with which he wished to appear at Rome, and the pontifical court; nor could he conceive that Hörberg's original and genial compositions, and his worth as an artist, would be far more highly appreciated at Rome than at Stockholm. But Gustavus did not even aid in the least, in the promotion and facilitation of Hörberg's studies at the Academy of Art in his own capital.

Sergell, on the other hand, resigned to him, during his absence with the King in Italy, his salary as professor, which, however, according to Hörberg's account, amounted to but fifty plåtar—less than ten dollars. If this was Sergell's entire half-yearly salary, it must be confessed, that the Swedes understood the art of sustaining an Academy of Art, at very small cost. Gustavus III., who squandered the marrow and means of the state, in unsuccessful warfare and utopian political schemes, in unfinished palaces, opera houses, spectacles and court parade, gave not a dollar to the support or encouragement of Hörberg. But the painter's wants were so few, and his frugality so great, that he was able to dispense with the favors of his sovereign. Nevertheless, let us not be unjust to the Majesty of Sweden; and, therefore, let it stand recorded, that King Gustavus III., when Hörberg was presented to him at the palace of Drottningholm, in 1783, was graciously pleased to vouchsafe to the peasant a ticket of admission to a dramatic representation, wherein the anointed himself, and sundry of his courtiers condescended to take parts, and further, to permit him to view the pictures at the palace. "This," says the simple Hörberg, "was kind, and the ticket was a more exalted favor than I then understood; but I was so informed, after my return to Stockholm."

Hörberg passed eight weeks in Stockholm, lodging with his first host, the drunken dragoon, who was seldom at home, and whose wife he commends for her generous treatment of her guest, from whom she could not be persuaded to receive any compensation for his entertainment. Early in October, 1783, he left the capital, and returned to his home, with a considerable number of drawings, and about four dollars in money. We cannot but be touched by the true, tender and sincere feeling, which this son of nature so often exhibits in his autobiography, in reading the account of his departure from Stockholm, where he had met with a reception, friendly indeed, and encouraging, far beyond *his* humble expectations, but in truth neither flattering, nor particularly favorable. "While I reviewed in memory my adventures there," says he, "my eyes were dimmed with tears of joy, and then I thought upon my home, and my forsaken family, whom I hoped to rejoin in a few days."

Hörberg revisited Stockholm, in October of the following year, and remained there until the middle of July; during which period he drew at the Academy, and executed several pictures from his own designs. One of these, representing Zaleucus submitting to the loss of an eye, to save one of the eyes of his son, was the first of Hörberg's works, which was publicly exhibited at the Academy. Duke Frederick Adolphus, brother of King Gustavus III., bought this picture for five dollars; and the Academy decreed to Hörberg the third silver medal, for drawing from the living model. After his two first visits to Stockholm, he became gradually more known, and was seldom without professional engagements; but as the compensation he received for his works was extremely moderate, his circumstances improved very slowly. He was free from debt, but could, by no means, be considered even as an affluent peasant.

In January, 1787, he visited Stockholm for the third time, and remained there until September, but was never afterwards in the capital. The Academy awarded to him, for some of his works exhibited there, the second silver medal; and some of its members encouraged him to become a candidate for the large gold medal of the Academy. The subject proposed was the anointing of King David, and Hörberg's only competitor was a painter named Eckstein. The smaller gold medal was adjudged to this artist, and Hörberg received none. But he had the gratification of learning that several of the members of the Academy deemed his work worthy of the large gold medal; and that his highly respected friend Sergell was zealous in support of this opinion. Deprés took the painting home with him, and it was sold soon after for about twenty dollars. This was a larger sum than he had hitherto received for any of his works. "So I was more fortunate, on the whole, than if I had obtained the prize medal," observes he, "especially if it had been awarded to me against the opinion of Sergell; for, as I hold him to be the most competent judge, I prize his approbation above the medal."

On his return from Stockholm, Hörberg was invited to visit Finspång, the baronial residence of the royal chamberlain, Baron de Geer. This nobleman was one of the most zealous lovers of art in Sweden, and there was at Finspång a considerable collection of paintings, to which he made



additions from time to time, but which has since been unfortunately sold, or dispersed. De Geer's house was the seat of great hospitality, and of unceremonious and liberal social life. To every artist Finspång was a home, and genius was revered without regard to rank or condition. Sergell, Ehrensvärd, Abildgaard and other distinguished Swedish and foreign artists and connoisseurs contributed to form a circle, exhibiting a rare union of urbanity and freedom from artificial restraint; and here Hörberg, even after his fortieth year, gained much in intellectual development and cultivation. For several years after 1787, he spent much time at Finspång; and several of his best works—among which must be reckoned his frescoes in the orangery, in a grand style of execution—were produced there. Hörberg's intercourse with the noble proprietor of Finspång exercised so important an influence upon his life, that it may be said to have begun a new period in his artistical career. He never attempted, indeed, to raise himself above his original rank in life, and reared his children in the same condition; but he lived much more in the cultivated world, and there is no doubt that the polished society at Finspång was agreeable to him, and exercised a beneficial influence on the tone of his feelings.

Baron de Geer easily prevailed upon him to remove from his native Småland to Östergöthland; but he declined taking a farm on the Baron's estate, which that nobleman offered him, and purchased in 1788, for about two hundred dollars, a little spot in the vicinity of Finspång, called Olstorp, whither he removed his family in March 1790, after having visited Virestad, to take leave of his aged parents, and his other friends, from whom he was now to be separated by a distance of two hundred miles. He now found himself nearly destitute of furniture for house-keeping, and of stock and implements for farming; and it is a striking evidence both of his narrow circumstances and frugal habits, as well as of his humble and grateful character, that he speaks with profound thankfulness of a present which he received from Countess Aurora de Geer, consisting of two kettles, a frying-pan, six pewter plates, a few earthen pots, a yoke of oxen, a milch cow and four sheep.

Hörberg's countryman, the poet Atterbom, observes that this was rather aiding his wife, than benefitting him. "Nobles," says he, "should bestow noble gifts. A half kindness is indeed better than none; but at how trifling cost might not de Geer's generosity have been made complete?" (namely, by supporting Hörberg some years at Stockholm.) In the opinion of Atterbom, Hörberg never received essential aid from any one, though a few artists and amateurs, whose disposition was better than their ability, did for him the little that lay in their power; Silfverstolpe, on the contrary, maintains that his country not only appreciated, but adequately rewarded his merits, by the humble independence, which in the evening of life he was permitted to enjoy, and at length to transmit to his children. But the government did nothing for him; and among all the aristocracy of his country, he found but one de Geer; though wealthy and distinguished individuals sometimes purchased his works, because, for a time, it was a sort of *mode*, and because they cost little. All that Hör-

berg received for the exercise of his art, and much more, he might have earned as a skilful artisan in any other handicraft. His merits as an artist were in fact best appreciated, and his productions chiefly sought in the interior, in part by particular connoisseurs, and in part by men of his own condition; who, indeed, were not able fully to estimate his merits, or accurately to appreciate the excellences or faults of his works; but who had feeling enough for the poetical, and for the grandeur of character and effect in Hörberg's paintings, to enjoy and admire them. It was also calculated to flatter the pride of the peasantry, that a man of their own condition had risen to such eminence as an artist, and yet continued to live among, and belong to them and their rank. Many of Hörberg's altar-pieces, therefore, were procured by the contributions of the congregations, or of a few single peasants; though the greater part have been presented to churches by their proprietors, or other private individuals.

Hörberg selected from the life of Christ the subjects of all his altar-pieces;\* with the single exception of that of the miners' church at Finspång,—an allegorical painting, the subject of which was suggested by Baron de Geer. Besides these great works, which are his own original compositions, except in a very few instances, where he has copied the designs of others, by the particular direction of the donors, he has given us a list of 520 paintings, which he distinctly remembered to have executed between 1764 and 1807, and which, also, with few exceptions, are originals. The continuation of this list from 1807 to the time of his death is wanting. But this is far from being the sum total of the results of his extraordinary diligence. According to his own account, the number of his drawings was many times greater than that of his oil paintings. He mentions only the following series:—1. The history of Jesus Christ, in a volume consisting of 291 designs. 2. A collection of several thousand drawings from gems and other antiques. 3. Till Eulenspiegel's history of Christ, for Baron de Geer. 4. Traditions concerning Jesus of Nazareth, or the fabulous history of Christ, 347 designs of the size of playing cards. He also occupied himself, occasionally, with engraving on copper, though not with distinguished success: and mentions having invented a mode of engraving on tablets of plaster, which could be printed with letter-press, and which he calls "a mode of engraving resembling the manner of the masters of the 16th and 17th centuries."

According to Silfverstolpe, he had a distinguished talent for mechani-

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\* A catalogue of these 87 altar-pieces, with an indication of their subjects, and sometimes of their dimensions, is found in Hörberg's *Life of himself*, pp. 59-67. The altar-piece at East Husby in the diocese of Linköping, he states to be the largest he had painted. It represents in two compartments, Moses, or the Law, and John the Baptist, or the Gospel. It is thirty feet in width, and twenty feet in height, and is one of the last three pieces in the catalogue, and was painted in 1814. The next year, Hörberg painted his last altar-piece, the prayer of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, ten feet high, and nine wide, for the church of Törnwalla in the diocese of Linköping.

cal pursuits. With few and simple implements, he executed the most ingenious works, and with a common knife he carved in wood various objects of sculpture, by no means destitute of artistical merit. He not only carved statues in wood, but modelled them in clay, and then baked them in a brick-kiln. Besides cabinet-work, he occupied himself occasionally for many years in making violins; and as he felt an irresistible impulse to investigate the movements of the heavenly bodies, and acquire some knowledge of astronomy, he made instruments of wood for his observations, and omitted no opportunity to extend his astronomical knowledge, by conversation, or study of such works on that science as fell in his way.

Thus Hörberg strove, by every means within his reach, to feed the ardent aspirations of his soul after knowledge, and to satisfy an industrial impulse, which, even while he rested from his labors in art, required incessant nourishment. With the few and simple means which were accorded to him, he succeeded in acquiring an education, not indeed methodical, scholastic, or polished, nor extending to all the subjects to which the higher theories of art are applicable, but yet embracing a far wider sphere than that belonging to his rank and condition. And though the education thus acquired was fragmentary, yet it was, for this reason, peculiar, and had informed the whole inner man of the artist, who, by the exercise of a sound understanding, and a gradually acquired knowledge of the world, contrived to unite, in a symmetrical though imperfect whole, the portions of knowledge and experience, which he from time to time collected. Even the religion, science, art and civilization of the ancient world were not unknown to him; and he had acquired a tolerably complete historical knowledge of these subjects, and, as far as his slender helps enabled him, had sought to attain to a clear conception of the characteristic spirit of Grecian and Roman antiquity, though, in the exercise of his art, he had not frequent occasion for its practical application, except in so far as it coincided with his own natural tendency to the grand and gigantic. In Christian art, on the contrary, he was far more at home: and he adopted and appropriated its principles, when in unison with the character of his own genius, without sickly sentimentality, but with strength, boldness, and ripeness of imagination.

After his removal to Östergöthland, Hörberg lived, in quiet and cheerful independence, a life devoted almost wholly to his art. He spent much time in the country, and in the small towns, in fulfilling the commissions with which he was charged, and often visited Finspång. In the year 1800, he made his last journey to his native parish, and had the pleasure of finding his aged father alive, and of painting an altar-piece for the church of Virestad. The character of Hörberg was wholly unstained by ambition or vanity; and the exercise of his art was subservient to the attainment of no mere earthly object. He aimed continually at higher excellence, but only to satisfy the internal impulse of his nature, and not for the sake of acquiring fame or fortune by his works; and even when executing the commissions of others, he never appeared to labor with a view to a reward.

The honest pride of the humble peasant forbade him to dance attendance in the antechambers of the great, or to dishonor the dignity of the man, and the self-respect of the artist, by doing homage to vanity, selfishness, or the empty splendor of fashion.

But we will again be just to kings and Cæsars; and, therefore, we freely admit, that some wandering and unsubstantial rays of that royal favor, which sometimes gilds, even where it does not warm, were allowed to fall on the humble head of the *Peasant Painter*; for though he lived and died what both birth and inclination made him—a peasant—yet in 1797 he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Arts, and in 1798 his name actually appeared in the Court Calendar, with the sounding though empty title of *Höfmålare* or *Painter to his Majesty*. No title, however, could be less suited to the character of Hörberg, than one which seemed to indicate, that he had any relations with a vainglorious monarch, or a sycophantic aristocracy; and his own good sense led him to desire his friends, and others whom he respected, to refrain from using this complimentary appellation in their intercourse with him. But, *allå van Leyes, do quieren Reyes*—whom the king favoereth, the people delight to honor; and how could a courtier admire what Majesty did not patronize? Since the fountain of honor sent forth no rill to refresh the way-worn wanderer, it was in vain to appeal to the generosity of the lesser great; and accordingly we find, that neither public bounty, nor the munificence of private patronage, did aught to lighten the burdens of poverty and age, until the present king of Sweden, on his visit to Finspång, in 1812, promised Hörberg an annual pension of about forty dollars.\*

Several years before his death, Hörberg surrendered his lands to his two sons. He had increased his little estate by a second purchase, and now gave each of his sons a small farm, reserving a rent for his own support. He passed the latter years of his life in an *undantag*, or life-lease house, on the farm of Fålla, which he had conveyed to his oldest son, Peter Marian. Some of these were years of severe suffering from the stone, and were moreover embittered by the unfeeling complaints and reproaches of his family, because the poor old suffering artist could no longer earn his usual gains, by the practice of his art.

The old age of Hörberg, therefore, exhibits not the spectacle of days of independent and placid enjoyment, which are the appropriate reward of the meritorious artist, who has spent the vigor of life in the production of works destined to be enjoyed and admired, as long as they exist, by his cotemporaries and by posterity; but even in the midst of physical suffering, or the painful cravings of unsatisfied intellectual aspirations, and the oppressive loneliness of a master mind, denied communion with congenial and sympathizing spirits, he was never wholly deserted by that

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\* In justice to the present enlightened king of Sweden, it ought to be noticed, that, *Mad. Ehrenström* states, that when the subject of the pension was agitated, Hörberg himself mentioned fifty rix-dollars banco, (twenty Spanish dollars,) as an adequate sum, but that the king fixed it at one hundred and fifty rix-dollars.—*Trans.*



ever youthful freshness of heart and spirit, which is wont to accompany through life, and to follow to the grave, the true and devoted artist. The choicest pleasure and the most refreshing recreation of the venerable old man, was to collect his grandchildren around him, and to renew his years, by witnessing and participating in the enjoyments and sports of childhood.

His oldest son, to whom he had given up one of his little farms, treated him with a tenderness and respectful attention unusual among the peasantry; but the want of sympathy between Hörberg and his wife, and perhaps her increasing perverseness, and negligent housewifery, together with the ungrateful and unkind behavior of other relatives, laid the foundation of the domestic disquiet, which oppressed the artist in his declining years, and made him a prey to a heaviness of spirit, which he sometimes endeavored to dispel, by a too free use of intoxicating drinks. This evil practice, however, he abandoned long before his death, but a melancholy tone of feeling characterized the remainder of his life, and is plainly to be traced in his later works. He no longer sought relaxation and enjoyment in social intercourse, but passed most of his time in solitude. He had built a studio—a detached, light and spacious apartment—on a rocky eminence near his dwelling. Hither he retreated when contact with the world around him became oppressive and burdensome to his spirit, and spent whole days in solitary retirement; and when not at work, he often walked to and fro in his study for hours together, with folded arms, contemplating the works of his own hand, with which the walls were hung. His last sickness was a gradual and gentle physical decay, during which his mental powers retained their full vigor and activity; and on the 24th of January, A. D. 1816, a resigned and peaceful death transferred him to a better world, at the good old age of threescore years and ten. His dust lies buried in Risinge churchyard, but his spirit shall long breathe forth from many an altar-piece, in many a temple of the living God, warming the piety of the humble worshipper, and exciting the reverent admiration of the enlightened lover of Christian art.

Hörberg was not only an affectionate husband, and a kind parent, in his domestic circle; but he was modest, friendly, civil, obliging, disinterested in a high degree, and helpful to his friends and neighbors, who sometimes took an ungenerous advantage of his kindness; in society, he was good-humored, mild and pleasant, though his good-humor never degenerated into turbulence; in intercourse with friends and intimate acquaintance, he was lively, and he was not easily depressed by adversity. When his wife wept, or complained of poverty and care, he would take down his violin, collect his children around him, and play for them to dance, until their mother recovered her cheerfulness. He was unaffectedly religious, and the same gentle piety which breathes in his works, reigned over his life, and contributed much to his placidity and cheerfulness of temper. But in the decline of life, when he felt himself day by day more estranged from the circle in which he lived, and when domestic cares and trials embittered his days, he sunk into a deep melancholy; which, however, always yielded to his natural good-humor, when he had

an opportunity of enjoying the pleasures of refined society, where he was appreciated and respected. Women, especially, even in the latter dark and desponding portion of his life, generally succeeded in enlivening and cheering the gentle old man; who was so far from being insensible to female beauty and grace, that he seemed to renew his years in the society of polished women, and often, without rendering himself ridiculous by forgetting his age and condition, expressed to the fairest among them, with amiable simplicity, how much pleasure their personal attractions and refined society afforded him. This amiable gallantry was by no means irreconcilable with his severity of principle, though displeasing to the rude and narrow feelings of his wife.

Hörberg was fond of poetry, and occasionally wrote verses, though not with great success. Of the Swedish poets of his time, Bellmann was his favorite; he had known this author personally at Stockholm, and the songs of the Swedish Anacreon enlivened the old painter with youthful and joyous animation. He was familiar with music, from early childhood, and it was his solace and recreation to the end of his life. Though he had received even less instruction in this art than in painting, he composed polonaises, and other pieces, which are said to be distinguished for originality and depth of feeling. That he possessed this last attribute, none can doubt, who has seen any of his best paintings, or read his sketch of his own life. Besides a considerable collection of drawings, he left in manuscript various literary sketches and collections. Among them is a quarto volume of extracts upon the early history and mythology of the Northern kingdoms, in part translated from P. Claussens' Danish version of Snorro, and the Edda of Resenius, and in part taken from various later works. This volume contains many drawings, and various observations upon the manner in which the modern artist ought to treat subjects drawn from the mythology and mythical history of the North;—a topic with which, in his riper years, he was much occupied.

As a writer, Hörberg is known to the public, by his posthumous *Life of himself*;—a work remarkable in many respects, and the publication of which is a valuable acquisition to the literature of Sweden. He has there laid open to the world his life and character, with a natural and artless simplicity, and truthfulness, which could hardly be more pure or more naïf. He exhibits no love of display, no trace of vanity, and the work is one of the most truthful and simple historical narratives anywhere extant; yet, with all its simplicity, it is full of import, and furnishes abundant food for thought, both to the philosopher and to the artist. The manner in which Hörberg paints the pinching poverty, and the various trials of his childhood and youth, and the laborious, discouraging and unpatronised artistical career of his maturer age, without the slightest indication of discontent with his lot, is at once most touching and instructive. We see how his cheerful and manly temper, in conjunction with his clear and intuitive perception of the essential principles of art, raised him above the narrowness and petty cares of sordid selfishness, and blessed his spirit with a repose which, under all the varying phases of life, remained essentially undisturbed.

Of Hörberg's exterior, Atterbom observes, that it was stamped with the characteristic traits of the inner man. "He was strongly built, rather low of stature, of a firm and manly carriage, unconstrained and dignified in manner, with a lofty forehead, a clear and gentle eye, a mouth delicately but firmly chiselled, flowing silver locks beneath his velvet cap, and neatly but simply clad in the style of the better class of peasants.—"It was thus," says the poet, "that I saw him in the summer of 1809, when I came to Fålla, early one Sunday morning with my brother-in-law, who was to preach to a congregation of miners in the open air. Hörberg came a considerable distance on foot to meet my brother-in-law, of whose society he was fond. We sent our carriage before us, and walked with Hörberg, by a romantic forest-path, to the city; the heavens were blue and warm, the birds were caroling, and the old painter was as joyous as they." Hörberg was agreeably surprised to find in Atterbom, then a youth of nineteen, a lively interest and taste for art, and after service, which he attended with every mark of profound devotion, he took Atterbom to his study, where he entertained him for half a day, and was in the highest degree communicative and cheerful. Of his professional brethren in Stockholm, he used the following remarkable language: "There were many who painted better, much better than he; but they had no ideas, no grand conceptions."

This characteristic expression from Hörberg's own mouth, suggests one of the most obvious and striking traits of his character as an artist. There is a division of art, founded on the predominance of the ideal or the sensuous, the spiritual or the corporeal;—a distinction applicable to every branch of art, but which is most obvious in painting, partly because its range of subjects is the most comprehensive and multiform, and partly because the ideal predominates in painting, when we consider it in itself, without regard to its subjects. Painting then constitutes the ideal subjective element of formative art, and is thus opposed to the objective element, sculpture or plastic. But this does not prevent the preponderating tendency of the artist to the spiritual or the sensuous side from becoming manifest in painting, since it depends, not upon the means by which he represents his subject,—design and coloring,—but upon the subjects themselves.

The proper ideal painting, or that wherein the spiritual most clearly and prominently steps forth, and wherein the truest and most exalted beauty is revealed, and the ideals of art are made visible, so far as human power, through the medium of colors, can reach, is *historical painting*. And this was the sphere, in which the professional labors of Hörberg were almost exclusively exerted. The theme of his inspiration was the ideal in art, and its visible representation was the aim to which his most ardent aspirations tended. In this, for want of early and *methodical* cultivation, he was unable to attain to the harmonious finish, which we admire in the great masters of Italy, and other distinguished painters; but his inferiority was confined to those details of the art, which may be acquired by study and practice; while he possessed the inborn vigor, genius and inspiration of the master artist in such a degree, that so long as his works and his

memory exist, we must deeply lament, that, in the words of Atterbom, "he became but a fragment of what he might have been, a melancholy but splendid ruin of a structure, which nature had designed to rear in the grandest proportions."

We recognize everywhere in the works of Hörberg a powerful, bold and soaring spirit; but we perceive too the bonds which checked its daring flight. His altar-pieces are unquestionably his best productions, because in them he expressed the ideas of which he had the clearest conceptions. In symbolical and allegorical painting, he was less successful than in the purely historical; and it was but rarely, and only in his latter years, that he attempted works of the former class.

The principal merit in the works of Hörberg consists in the multiform variety and vigor of invention, the originality of thought and the richness and clearness of conception in composition, which all his best productions display. We perceive, at the first glance, that the artist was inspired by his subject; that it floated before his fancy in a clear and vivid light; and that he possessed the power of seizing the fleeting image, and transferring it, in all its distinctness, to the canvass before him. We discover no affected straining after effect, no borrowed or artificial manner, but all is simple, intellectual, agreeable and natural, like the artist himself. We generally find, that he has aimed to make the most powerful effect flow from the clear and vigorous delineation of the principal action, and from a grand, not anxiously sought or cunningly contrived, but naturally resulting total impression. In viewing the works of Hörberg, we are never in doubt, where to look for the proper subject, or what the leading aim of the artist was; the spiritual and poetical, the essential character of the personages, the liveliness of the action, and the expression of distinct personality—all these spontaneously interpret themselves to the spectator.

His skill in perspective is particularly striking in his great altar-pieces, which occupy the whole rear wall of a church. "In viewing these," says Silfverstolpe, "we observe with astonishment, that the edifice is apparently extended, and the theatre of the action represented, displays itself in the remote distance." But even in this excellence, Hörberg was rather self-taught, than formed by instruction or study of the works of other masters. Of this, his earliest works are a proof; for, according to the opinion of the same critic, they possessed all "the perfection of perspective, at a period when Hörberg knew not even the word *perspective*, and still less imagined that there were definite and exact rules for its practice." "Nevertheless," continues Silfverstolpe, "it was not by the arrangement of the subject, that Hörberg attained that excellence in keeping, which constitutes one of his principal merits. But it was in the calculation of the effect of light and shade, and the skill with which he thereby lessened or increased the apparent distance of objects, that his chief excellence consisted. It was mainly by this that he gave life to his paintings, and often produced the most dazzling effect."

In coloring and harmony of tint, Silfverstolpe does not concede to our artist so great a degree of merit. In those of his works, which we have seen, we have observed a lively, fresh and expressive coloring; but



not the skill and scrupulous care in the blending of colors, which we admire in the productions of some other masters. In design, he was not always correct, nor had he studied the ideal beauty of form sufficiently to appropriate and produce it, with as much success as he displayed in the characteristic expression of the internal and spiritual in man.

Feminine beauty had never revealed itself to the creative fancy of our artist, nor was his pencil suited to exhibit the attributes of the Graces. Vigorous manhood and venerable age, he conceived and expressed with spirit and with truth, but often failed in the grace of youth, the magic of the tender affections, and the innocent smile of childhood. His old men are singularly beautiful; his apostles, evangelists, kings, and in general all his figures of mature age are, in the main, faultless. But it has been observed, that his angels are seldom sufficiently youthful, and that the Saviour, in many of his paintings, bears too much the look of age. In some instances, he has given to the countenance of Jesus an expression rather of earthly suffering, than of the wo and anguish of a divine being. This, however, we have not observed in the representation of the scourging of Christ in one of the altar-pieces of the church of Linköping. Here, in our opinion, the human patience, which endures suffering, and the divine power which triumphs over it, are expressed in a singularly happy union.

In fine then, would we characterize Hörberg as an artist by his most striking and prominent traits, we should say, that nature designed him as an example of the power of unaided genius. Without models, without that early cultivation so necessary to the artist, without the advantage of a residence in countries ennobled by the remains of antiquity, and enriched by the luxuriance of southern nature, and the glorious trophies of modern art, he formed an eminently free, original, and independent professional character, of which an innate impulse perpetually striving after higher excellence, a fancy not glowing, but warm and vigorous, and a comprehensive store of self-taught knowledge, constituted the elements. He did not indeed become, what such means could not render him, a technically finished painter, but he attained to all the excellence of which mere self-taught genius is capable. Characteristic, genial, vigorous, rich in thought and invention, profound in the delineation of expression and character, true and faithful to nature; thus he displays himself in all his works, and though he is sometimes disfigured by faults, he is never decked in borrowed excellences. Though multiform, he was not universal, in idea or invention, and could not repress or control his tendency to the grand and the exalted; and he succeeded better in expressing the beauty of thought, than in rendering visible the ideal beauty of form. In the sublime and gigantic, he was inspired by the bold and daring spirit of a Michael Angelo, but never conceived, or aimed to produce, the graces of Correggio, or the beauty of the Madonnas of Raphael.

Almost exclusively occupied with the *total* in his works, he neglected, often unconsciously, the details, and the rapidity with which he wrought frequently prevented a finished execution. But nothing could check his fancy in her soaring flight, nothing enervate his inspiration in the beauti-

ful and vigorous expression of grand, living ideas, and highly spiritual compositions. Of these, the worth and excellence will be acknowledged as long as men prize the ideal and poetic in painting; and while art shall bloom and be cherished, the name of HÖRBERG will be remembered with reverence and with love.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE COSSACKS:—SONGS OF THE UKRAINE.

The following article is so complete in itself that we transfer it to our pages, with a single remark. The reader will find it sufficiently explained as he proceeds; and none, we trust, will peruse without a thrilling interest these new disclosures and sketches of a mingled race of men, whose history is so marked with scenes of poverty, suffering, bold adventure and savage grandeur, as well as indications of splendid genius and high moral qualities.—SR. ED.

From the Foreign Quarterly Review.

*Piesni Ukrainskie, wydane przez P. Maxymowicza, w Moskwie, 1834.*  
(Songs of Ukraine, published by Maxymowicz, at Moscow, 1834.)

DURING that period of the middle ages when the west and the south of Europe were studded with Gothic castles, and when Rhodes and Malta were the asylum of the military religious orders—the scanty wrecks of the great armies that had marched into Palestine—it was not so much as surmised that, behind the rampart which Poland opposed to the barbarians of the East, there existed a powerful confederacy of warlike men, who, occupied incessantly in the pursuit of arms, lived only by war and for war. By a strange fatality, these men, though they struggled in a sacred cause—in the defence of their religion, nationality and homes—gained ultimately, however, only a name of opprobrium, that of Cossacks, equivalent, in the opinion of civilized nations, to that of robbers and savages. Notwithstanding their name of reproach, the history of these men occupies an important place in the annals of southeastern Europe. The military system of the East, like a mighty tree, soon overspread with its branches the Dnieper, the Don, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoff, the Volga, the Yaik, the Caucasus and the Ural. Numerous and wide-spreading as were these branches, they must nevertheless be viewed only as forming a perfect whole, springing from the same stem, and animated by one and the same principle of vitality.

Few subjects of historical investigation have had the ill luck to be worse comprehended than the Cossacks; and yet they have been written

of, and commented upon, by authors of all the nations of Europe. The cause of this seeming anomaly will be found, on the one part, in the ignorance of the Slavonic language which prevails universally amongst these authors, and on the other, in the multifarious incorrect reports circulated by travellers, the great majority of whom seem to have adopted as their rallying word, "whatever differs from our own customs, is bad." Add to these, the national jealousy with which the Cossacks have ever been regarded by their neighbors. Who those Cossacks were, who, after having entirely lost their independence and their freedom, have yet bequeathed to posterity the indestructible marks of nationality, their original customs and manners, and their poetry, is a question therefore that yet remains to be solved. Our present purpose being to say somewhat on the latter subject, we cannot do so satisfactorily to our readers without first endeavoring to give a sketch of the early history of this remarkable race. We shall, however, refrain from entering upon etymological and other learned disquisitions as to the original signification of the name "Cossack," and proceed at once to relate some facts connected with their history, taking as our guides, two able writers, a Russian and a Pole, whom we rejoice to find meeting, on this ground at least, in the character of friends.\*

The vast steppe extending between the Lower Don and the Lower Dnieper had been, from the remotest antiquity, traversed by many a nomadic people. The tracts where the Scythian once wandered, were successively occupied by the Sarmatian, the Ostrogoth, the Polovtzy; there the Tatar and the Cossack subsequently tended his flock, or sallied forth from thence on his plundering expeditions. So late even as the sixteenth century, travelling was as unsafe in those regions as it is in our days in the country of the Bedouins. During the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, whilst the duchies of Southern Russia were in a flourishing condition, her boundaries on the left bank of the Dnieper did not extend beyond the river Sula; and the city of Kaniow formed her bulwark against the Chosars, the Pietchingues, the Polovtzy, the occupants of the above-named steppe, who were incessantly fighting either for or against Russia, or amongst themselves.

Let the reader constantly bear in mind the internal condition of Southern Russia, the only country at that period permanently inhabited, which was situated in the immediate vicinity of the roaming savages of the steppe. The various small duchies of Russia were studded with *grod*,—small boroughs protected by walls,—in which were the locations of the dukes themselves or their lieutenants. In the midst of these *grod*, small villages lay thinly scattered, which bore the name of *grodek*, and in these the bulk of the people lived, or rather sheltered themselves on the approach of a foreign enemy or one of the native dukes carrying on war against another. The want of such places of refuge was daily felt more and more. The villager on his return home from the *grod*, usually found only a heap of ruins where he had left his hut; he built another, and was

\* Polewoy's History of the Russian Empire; Gnorowski's Insurrection of Poland in 1830—31.

again compelled to desert it for the *grod*. Consequently, nowhere except in the *grod*, did there exist security for life and peace, for the fruits of labor, or for any kind of liberty. The chief of these *grod* were Kiow, Czernichow, Pereaslaw, Belgrad, &c.

To fill up the measure of distress came the great invasion of the Tatars. That which had formerly been of one or two years' duration, now lasted for a century. For more than that period the sword of the Asiatic robbers was suspended over the necks of the wretched people who could not look forward with hope even for a single day. No respite was granted them, no peace long enough to allow of their leaving the *grod* and building huts which they might inhabit, at least for a year, whilst they should gather in some of the fruits of the earth. We can give no better picture of these scenes of devastation and wo, "made visible by the palpable darkness," than that drawn by Gnorowski in the work to which we have already alluded.

Amidst tombs, which, rising like mountains, marked the bloody passage of the multitudinous nations, whose names, as Chateaubriand says, are known only to God; amidst walls raised by unknown hands, and cemeteries whitening with the bones of Varangian Russians, of the Polovtzy, Hungarians, Lithuanians and Poles, the Tatar still discerned the several tracks along which he carried desolation from his maritime steppes to the flourishing abodes. One of these tracks led from Oczakoff through Podolia; another followed the right bank of the Dnieper, and passed through the plains of the Ukraina to Volhynia; a third proceeded from Valachia into Galicia, and all met at Lemberg. Flights of rapacious birds, arriving from the south, announced the approaching scourge, and the true omen was quickly confirmed by the glowing sky that reddened in the glare of burning villages. The barbarian hordes in their sudden attacks overpowered the inhabitants and seized the fruits of their toil, before the warlike proprietors of the adjacent castles could descend to their defence. Prompt in aggression, prompter still in flight, they dragged into infamous captivity the youth of both sexes, driving off the herds, and leaving behind them only heaps of ashes and the corpses of the aged. Notwithstanding this immense havoc, the population still renewed itself upon that beautiful soil, "cut up," as says a Slavonian poet, "by the tramp of horses, fertilized by human blood, and white with bones, where sorrow grew abundantly,"—and that population, like the soil, never ceased to be Slavonian.

In the breasts of men thus circumstanced, the desire naturally arises rather to go forth and meet sword in hand the threatening danger, than to await its coming in inactive terror. Such was the case in Southern Russia, where, during the oppression of the Tatars, two classes of men, or rather two kinds of existence arose, the one,—if the expression may be allowed,—*grod*-like; the other, *cossack*-like. In the north of Russia, where the independence of the various states, though greatly shaken, was not yet destroyed, the *grod*-like frame remained as before. But in the south, where the dukes, their lieutenants (*boyars*), and companions



had been nearly exterminated by the sword; where the power of the Church had been annihilated, and the Tatars had a fixed abode; where the *grod* were either reduced to ashes, or, despoiled of walls, stood defenceless with their terror-stricken population in the midst of wild deserts;—there the cossack-like existence manifested itself in its utmost extent.

This mode of existence, therefore, signified in fact the condition of a wanderer bereft of his home, and separated from his penates. It was the very reverse of the *grod*-like existence; and its origin may be dated from the middle of the thirteenth century.

But where could these fugitives seek refuge from the bondage of the Tatars? With the exception of the district on the right bank of the Dnieper, the whole of the vast steppe between that river and the Don was overrun by the latter. The city of Kaniow, the former bulwark of Russia, had now become the advanced post of the Tatars, and this constantly recurring destination of Kaniow suggested a beautiful line to a Polish poet—

“To limits wild her hardy breast was guard.”\*

A century later, Olgerd, Grand Duke of Lithuania, drove the Tatars from the bank of the Dnieper. In consequence of his conquest, only two corners of land at the southern extremity beyond the Don, by the Sea of Azoff, and beyond the *porogues* or islands of the Dnieper towards the Black Sea, remained as places of refuge for the fugitives; these two corners were, in fact, the cradle of the Cossacks; those of the Don, and those of the Ukraine or Zaporogues (the dwellers beyond the Islands).

The fugitives, however, from the Russian duchies, which were subjugated by the Tatars, whilst seeking a shelter in these sequestered places, found them already occupied. These original settlers were partly the wrecks of nomadic tribes, driven from the steppe by the Asiatic invaders, and partly fugitives from the Caucasus, whither also the Tatars had penetrated. Their numbers had subsequently been increased by individuals who had escaped from captivity amongst the Tatars and Lithuanians. In reference to this subject we again quote Gnorowski's words:

About sixty miles below Kiow, the Dnieper forms a variety of isles, upwards of seventy in number. The banks of the river, here fringed with wood, there steep and marshy—the deep caverns in the rocky islands, concealed by spreading trees or tangled thorn-bushes, offered a favorable place of refuge, whilst the open country lay exposed to the barbarians. At the epoch of the first general invasion of the Tatars, and again during the Lithuanian war, many persons found shelter there, and their number was subsequently increased by the arrival of adventurers, guided by necessity or pleasure; by deserters from the Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian, and Valachian ranks; by fugitives from Tatar bondage, or by the poor escaping from the oppression of the rich; sometimes also by criminals flying from merited punishment. The

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\* “The Castle of Kaniow,” a poem by Goszczynski.

motley community was at first held together by a rule enforcing celibacy, fishing and hard labor. Gradually they ventured upon secret excursions to the neighboring countries, which by degrees they extended into daring expeditions down the Dnieper, and along the Black Sea as far as the very walls of Constantinople. In more peaceable times they condescended to inhabit the plains, there to cultivate the soil, and enjoy domestic comfort in the bosom of their families.

This *colluvies gentium* consolidated into one body, although, owing to local causes, the two races predominated respectively more or less in certain districts. Thus, amongst the fugitives of the Don, the Asiatic element prevailed; amongst those of the Dnieper, more of the Slavonian blood was infused. Thence originated a difference in language, character and customs; both however generally adopted the Russian language, and the creed of the Eastern Church. The cause of this is obvious. The Russian fugitives, born in the grand duchy of Kiow, were superior in intellectual acquirements to their companions of other origin, and the Christian faith was with them a pledge of enmity towards their Mussulman oppressors. A higher degree of civilization and a more ardent faith ultimately prevailed. They all assumed the name of Cossacks, which meant, and does so still in the East, an *independent warrior*.

The primitive condition common to them all at the time of their first settling, has been thus sketched by the pen of an anonymous author, himself born on the banks of the Don:

From the mouth of the Aksaya up to the government of Voronez, in the depth of forests, in the midst of inaccessible marshes, were scattered small fortified spots, the only colonies of the Cossacks, called *grodzisko*. In these, composed of a few huts built of clay, the Cossacks led quite a life of passage, being only mindful to provide shelter of some kind or other from bad weather. "Let the flame of invasion," said they, "consume our huts; in a week we shall plant new hedges: fill them up with earth, cover their tops with reeds, and a *grodzisko* shall arise. Sooner will the foe be wearied with the destruction of our wretched abodes than we with their erection."

The necessity for flight in order to preserve life was the source of Cossackism. The wished-for security once obtained, a desire for vengeance on the foe arose together with a consciousness of absolute independence. Independence, booty, increase of power and a permanent settlement taught the former fugitives to value the charms of Cossack existence. The wretched slave, who once trembled before the whip or the sword of the Tatar, insulted and degraded, now a warrior, a sword in his hand, and mounted on a swift charger, free as the wind of the steppe, famed in song, and on an equality with his companions, cherished with his whole heart his Cossack-like condition. A beautiful captive became his wife, the richest stuffs his attire, and the foe's best weapons his arms. Generations grew up amid the clashing of swords and the roar of battle. Singing the song of his native wilds, the Cossack was

wont to leave his home on a cruise to Azoff, Trapesond, Synope, Constantinople, &c., to *get himself a new coat*; dying on the field of battle, he kissed the handful of that native soil which he had borne on his breast, and sent a *parting report* to his wife, and his benediction to his children and chosen companions; or returning victorious, he distributed his trophies, feasted, and took no care for the morrow. His child was accustomed to play with the sword, and his wife fought with him against the invaders of the *grodzisko*.

"Thou writest to us," so replied the Ataman (supreme chief) of the Cossacks to the Chan Girey of Crimea, "thou writest to us, Chan Girey, that if what we have seized beyond Perecop and elsewhere, we do not give back, thou wilt march at once with thy people, and invade our thirty-two *grodzisko*, and will grant us no peace either in the spring or the summer, or the autumn or the winter; but that thou wilt come thyself with a multitude of thy men in winter upon the ice, to destroy our *grodzisko*: well, we acquaint thee that our unprofitable *grodziskos* are hemmed round by hedges, are bristly with thorns, and must be purchased at the price of heads; besides our stock of horses and cattle is scanty. It were pity therefore for thee to trouble thyself so far!"

Such was the existence and such the spirit of the Cossacks. As has been already observed, they may be considered as forming two principal bodies; the Cossacks of the Don and those of the Dnieper. From the first were derived various branches of eastern Cossacks; from the second sprung the people of Little Russia or the Ukraine. The former were a mixed race of Russians, Tatars, Circassians, and Kalmyks; the latter were composed of Russians, Polovtzy, Turks, Moldavians, Poles, and Lithuanians. The difference of these compounding elements created corresponding variations in the character, language, and general civilization of each respective body. The Zaporogue Cossacks were the nucleus of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Their Sicza, or chief commandory, transferred for a time to the banks of the Dnieper, was first established in the island of Hortyca, and from this nest the *grodzisko* were gradually multiplied along that river. Their permanent settlement induced the abandonment of celibacy, and the female captives became the wives of the Cossacks. Still no married Cossack was allowed to settle in the sicza unless he left his wife behind him in the *grodzisko*. From this circumstance originated the division of the Cossacks into the married and the unmarried; the former being called Cossacks of Ukraine, the latter Zaporogues. The Cossacks of Ukraine gradually extended northwards, making settlements in devastated places, or in such as had never before been inhabited, and in progress of time multiplied into a numerous people known at the present day as the inhabitants of Little Russia. The Zaporogues never abandoned their primitive seat, and as they were originally the nucleus, so they have hitherto remained, the prototypes of the Cossacks of the Dnieper.

The Swiss historian, Müller, thus speaks of the Zaporogues about the middle of the last century:

The Sicza was a heap of houses and huts, surrounded by a wall of earth. There every thing was in common. When a new year came, the ataman of the Zaporogues used to put to them these questions: "My brave fellows, you must cast lots as to where each division is to fish. Perhaps you may like to choose a new ataman?" "No," replied they, "thou art good; command one more year, and let us cast lots." But if a different answer was given, the ataman took off his cap, placed upon it the ataman's staff, and bowed to the people, saying, "Now I am your brother, a private Cossack." The people then met, feasted, elected a new ataman, led him into their assembly, and after the interrogation whether he accepted the office, they handed to him the staff, put earth on their heads, and saluted him their chief. A Cossack who should murder another was put alive into a grave; a coffin, with the corpse, was put upon him, and the grave was then filled up with earth.

Savage grandeur of mind was a prominent feature in their character, associated with an absolute contempt for riches, produced no doubt by the precariousness of their existence, which they were daily liable to be called upon to risk for their freedom. The following is an instance of their wild humor, an accompaniment, it is said, of true genius. The people of Ukraine can still remember the time when a Cossack, wishing to enjoy a frolic at a fair, would hire singers, go round with them to every shop, entertaining whomsoever he met, and scattering money amongst the crowd in order to cause a scuffle. Then to complete the jest, he would seat himself in his rich crimson dress upon a cask of tar, to show his contempt for riches, and finally put on his old sheep-skin and return gaily home.

Both the Zaporogues and the Little Russians became the subjects of Poland in the beginning of the fourteenth century. For upwards of two hundred years they formed the bulwark of that country and of Christendom against the Muscovite, the Tartar and the Turk. During the two succeeding centuries they struggled to regain their independence, but failed in all their efforts. Their revolt, which occupies one of the most sanguinary chapters in the annals of Poland, was excited by three domestic pests, the Jesuits, the Jews, and the stewards of the great land proprietors, who were always absentees. Menaced in their religion by the first, injured in their mercantile pursuits by the second, and oppressed by the third without being able to obtain any justice by their appeals to higher authority, they rose in despair, and massacred the three orders of their tyrants. Emboldened by this first success, and by the encouragement they received from Muscovy, Tatar and Turkey, they now demanded that the privileges of the Polish nobility, namely, that of taking part in the election of the kings, and of having seats in the senate, should be individually bestowed upon them all. The proud Polish nobles, who had refused to admit into their order the Dukes of Prussia and of Courland, as well as the Hospodars of Moldavia and Valachia, drew their swords in answer to the exorbitant pretensions of the Cossacks. The flames of war raged for more than a hundred years, and it was not until both parties were exhausted that they became reconciled to each other, only to be involved in one



common misfortune by the partition of Poland. It is impossible to sketch here the history of the Ukraine, so interesting in every point of view; but our readers may easily conceive that an infinite variety of characters and richness of color must be its distinguishing features. Let them but recollect the concluding chapters of the history of ancient Russia, and think of the savage warriors of Gengiskan pitching their tents under the walls of the majestic temples of Kiow, while the desponding fugitives gathered on the islands of the Dnieper, amidst marshes covered with impenetrable thickets, and surrounded by caverns and glassy lakes. Again, let them call to mind their bold navigation, daring even to madness; their adventurous expeditions both on land and water, guided only by the flight of birds, the current of winds, and the aspect of the stars; let them figure to themselves the appearance on the banks of the Dnieper of the Lithuanian Dukes Olgerd and Vitold, in caps of wolf-skin, and clothed in the fur of bears, armed with bundles of arrows and monster guns; and then let them contemplate the growing connexion of the Cossacks with Lithuania and Poland, and their subsequent civilization; their settlements on both banks of the Dnieper, the appearance of their new enemies the Tatars of the Crimea, the separation of the Zaporogues and their cruel supremacy over the Ukraine, their long series of famous chiefs from Ostafieff Daszkowicz down to the great Chmielnicki and the mysterious old Mazeppa; the singular education of the clergy of Kiow under Polish influence; the something at once chivalrous and pedantic in the aristocracy of Little Russia; the savage Lithuano-Asiatic tinge in the character of the people, this motley compound of Asia and Europe, of nomadic and settled life, of servility and independence, of weakness and energy; and finally the contemporaneous political intercourse of Poland with Muscovy, Turkey and the Crimea. From such elements arise the coloring and composition of this most singular of historical groups.

The five centuries during which this drama was acted, passed rapidly away, but not so the remarkable people who to this day still retain their original nationality. M. Polewoy has beautifully painted the peculiar physiognomy of the Ukraine and her inhabitants.

"Under a pure and serene sky," says he, "are spread out the boundless steppes of Ukraina, of which it was long ago said, 'In this Ukraina the sky is extraordinarily tranquil, and bad weather is never seen nor heard of there.' One who has been accustomed to see the gloomy forests, the dark sky, the sands and marshes of the north, cannot picture to himself the boundless fields waving with corn, the vallies strewed with the fresh down of blooming vegetation, the meadows where luxuriant grass conceals from the eye the waters of the river and the stream. Even the habitations of the people in Great Russia will fail to convey an idea of the cottages in Ukraina, which are built of curved trees covered with white washed clay, and have for floors the earth itself well beaten down, instead of a wooden pavement. The dirty peasant of Great Russia with his long tangled hair reminds you of the Tatar rule, and the villager of the north shows his pure Slavonian blood in his clear blue eyes and light brown hair, a true son of the snow, friendly,

kind and hospitable; and how much do both these differ from those plastic countenances (*figures de bas relief*) which you meet in Little Russia. In the thoughtful and serious countenance of the man, in his tall frame, his half-shaven head, long moustaches, in his secretly working soul, his gloomy look, abrupt speech, you will discover the ancient Russian mixed with the savage Asiatic. His dress at the same time bears marks of the Lithuanian and Polish rule of four centuries duration. The Ukrainian is slow, taciturn, difficult of speech, does not bow himself as does the native of Great Russia, does not promise much, but is shrewd and intelligent, and respects the word both given and received. Whilst the one lives entirely in the present, the other lives all in the past. Would you gain the friendship of the Ukrainian, be not pressing, for he is suspicious; but rather take part in his Cossack-like existence, for he is proud of the events of past times. Remind him of these, let him see that you admire his ancestors, and his countenance will brighten, his vivacity will be called forth, his heart will beat stronger; then you may converse with him enough. You will be admitted into the sanctuary of his joys and sorrows, you will at length hear his song of the steppe, and be astonished at the cheerfulness of his disposition."

These songs still resound on both banks of the Dnieper, though ages must have rolled away before any heed was given to them. They were distasteful to the Poles, for these songs were wet with their blood, and the Russians have only of late begun to take interest in letters. It was not till after the passions which had so long divided the Ukrainians and the Poles had been quenched in the blood of several generations, that the latter turned with sympathy to their former subjects, and to this sympathy, the offspring of their common misfortune, the people of Ukraine will be indebted for the preservation of their history and literature, the two strongholds of their crushed nationality. Lach Szyrma was the first Pole who drew the attention of the public to these subjects by printing two songs of the Ukraine, in a periodical edited at Vilno in 1824. The Russian Prince Certelev followed his example, and collected and published several others. Some time afterwards a large collection of Polish and Russian popular songs was printed at Lemberg, with their respective melodies, arranged by the celebrated composer Lipinski. A still richer contribution was expected from Chodakowski, a Pole who devoted his life and fortune to the subject. His premature death cut short these hopes, but the songs collected by him fortunately fell into the hands of M. Maxymowicz, who, assisted by some Russians, at length effected the publication of nearly three thousand songs of the Ukraine, at Moscow, in 1834. These songs, some of which might more properly be called epic poems, if skilfully arranged in proper order, joined to an ancient poem on the expedition of Igor, a Russian Duke, the work of an unknown author, might fairly take place by the side of the *Nibelungen*, if not indeed by that of the *Ilias* itself.

We do not enter upon our task of delivering a critical opinion of these songs, without feeling in some degree, perplexed; since certainly

none of the rules laid down by Aristotle can be applied to them, and yet it is no less certain that they must be admitted within the domain of poetry. In this dilemma, without pausing to discover where lies the fallacy, we will merely ask, what, in fact, is poetry? Volumes have been written on this subject, but they have not, in our humble opinion, given any satisfactory answer to the question. It has been affirmed, and even poets of great merit have held the opinion, that expression and rhythm constitute the essence of poetry; whilst others have shown that it may exist without either measure or rhyme. Byron has pronounced that every poet must be his own Aristotle, and thus it appears that no advance has yet been made towards the solution of the problem. It would seem that poets are still liable to the charge brought against them by Socrates, of being unconscious of what they utter. We are then reduced to say merely, that poetry is not prose. And what then is prose? Prose is altogether of the earth, transient, mortal: poetry, on the other hand, is every thing that is of heaven, perennial, immortal, that which enables us even here, in this planet of our exile, the sport of time and space, to live yet in eternity. The dynamical, not mechanical, imagining of this perennial, is a poetic composition. If we should be required further to demonstrate the utility of poetry, we would say that she follows in the footsteps of religion, her divine prototype, and carries peace into the hearts of men. In this opinion we are supported by the authority of "the master" Goethe, the poet of our age, whom Socrates would not have included in the general censure just alluded to.

"True poetry," says Goethe, "manifests itself in that like a secular gospel, by its internal serenity, by its external ease, it is able to deliver us from the earthly burdens which press upon us. Like an air-balloon it raises us with the ballast which clings to us, into higher regions, and makes the most intricate mazes of earth lie unravelled before us in a bird's-eye view. The most cheerful, as well as the most serious works, have a similar aim, that of moderating, by a happy and ingenious representation, both pleasure and grief."\*

We therefore believe the elements of poetry to be dynamics, feeling, and thought; which, by combination, produce only two kinds of poetry: the one compounded of dynamics and feeling; the other of dynamics, feeling and thought. The first, liable to the reproach of Socrates, is a secondary order of poetry; the second is perfect, and may be likened to a plant that brings forth not only leaves and blossoms, but also fruit. Byron, no doubt, meant the former, when he affirmed that feeling makes a poet; it is poetry, but, as we have already said, poetry of an inferior kind, and is to be found in all nations during the second period of their existence, that of their youth. Goethe well defined this state of man in his tragedy of Iphigenia, when he made her say: "I do not think, I feel." It is hardly necessary to observe, that we here use the word *feeling*, to express that unreflective, self-unconscious thought, which, in

\* Autobiography of Goethe.—*Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Fiction and Truth).

special reference to poetry, may be called inspiration, the seeing of visions. Amongst all nations this second stage in their existence is usually a period redundant in symbols—a period of religious, poetic and moral mythos. Man then holds direct converse with nature; he is embosomed in her—initiated into her secrets; all objects reveal to him their mysterious virtues; and from them all he extracts “emotions sweet, beautiful and true.” It is then that the cuckoo bewails the death of the Ukrainian in the absence of his mother and sister, or forewarns him of approaching danger. The “brother eagle” receives his last breath, and carries his parting report to his family. Ravens, hawks, magpies, larks, and even the winds, all join in chorus to mourn over a fallen warrior. The sun does not refuse to send down rays, nor the air, quickening dew on his tomb, that it may not blacken, nor wither, but that the grass may grow ever green around it. The milk which mingled in the sweet blood on the cheek of the innocent maiden, is curdled by a witch, when she becomes guilty, and the blood is sucked by a vampire. The forsaken one ploughs the field with her thoughts, and waters it with regrets. Bright Hohliks (a kind of angelic beings) encircled with rosy light, and sailing on a white cloud, bring down comfort in an hour of misfortune!

The variety, however, of such images being limited to palpable objects, cannot, of necessity, be very great, and a poetry of this kind can only reach a certain point, beyond which does not commence a perfect harmony of the spheres, but only a monotony. Such is the case with the poetry of Ossian, and such also with that of the people of Ukraine.

The songs published by M. Maxymowicz, may be divided into the *Duma*, and the songs proper.

“The *Duma*,” says he, “are poems usually sung by the *Badura*. They differ from the songs by their narrative or epic character, and in their rhythmical construction, consisting of an indefinite number of syllables. It often happens, however, that, owing to the lyric turn of the people, a *Duma* assumes the character of a song, as well as its rhythm and measure. The verse of the *Duma* is usually rhymed, its subject historical.”

To complete this definition, it must be added, that the *Badura* are, or rather were (for they are now becoming scarce), professional singers in Ukraine; a kind of bards or minstrels, or rather of rhapsodists, for every thing there points to beautiful Greece. Some of the *Duma* are, in fact, fragments of a regular epic, whilst others are mere rhymed chronicles, similar to those found amongst all nations, as their first essays, at recording the events of their early history. As a specimen of the former, we select a *Duma* relative to a victory gained by the Cossacks over the Poles at Czechryn. It opens with serious and pious reflections.

“Oh! in our famed Ukraina there has been many a terrible moment, many a season of unhappiness; there have been plagues and broils of war; there were none to help the Ukrainians; none sent up prayers for them to God; the holy God alone, he did not forget us; he assisted us to arrest the mighty armies, to drive back the enemy. The fierce tempests have passed away; they have sunk into stillness; none have been able



to conquer us!—Not for one day, nor for two, did the Lachy (the Poles) plunder Ukraina. They did not grant a moment's respite; day and night their horses stood bridled; they trod the paths to our Hetman Nalevayko; and what does the brave Hetman meditate and design? What is the fate he prepares for his companions? Only the holy God knows—the holy God who assists him with his might."

The Duma thus alludes to the approach of the Poles :

"From beyond the mountain a cloud rises—it rises, it comes forth—it thunders towards Czechryn; it sends forth its lightning over Ukraina; it is the Poles who have thrice crossed three rivers."

The Polish army takes position, and the trumpets sound; the Duma thus proceeds :

"Those are not clouds thundering with sacred thunder in the heavens; those are not saints being led into the presence of God. They are the Lachy, beating their drums and sounding their pipes and trumpets."

The Polish army is then assembled to hear the harangue of the Hetman, after which it crosses a river, makes an encampment, and places guns on the ramparts. In front of the guns are erected three crosses, upon two of which hang two Cossacks; the third seems to await some other Cossack, for the Duma says :

"It awaits, it looks for whomsoever the gun shall not reach, whom the bullets shall not strike—he shall find the cross of ash tree."

The Cossacks, on their part, also display their banners in sight of the Poles; on the banners are inscribed these words :

"To faithful Christians peace; to the Lachy foes, the infernal banquet. For him who erects the cross, the cross awaits."

Having given a panoramic view of the battle, the Duma relates, in rapid succession, the subsequent events :

"Then our hosts marched on four tracks; they marched on four tracks, and on the fifth field. (This expression is very frequently repeated in the Duma.) They vanquished the Lachy on all sides; they vanquished them on all the cross ways. The Lachy begged for mercy, and did not obtain it. The Cossacks do not give quarter.—The Lachy do not forego an invasion."

The Duma concludes, as it began, by grave religious remarks, overcast with gloom, as though prophetic of the misfortunes which even victory was destined to bring down upon Ukraina.

"And our people too, shall be unhappy, as the cuckoo has sung. She sang what she heard amongst the saints. What she has sung will surely happen. May God protect us! He knows the issue as he knows what our Hetman meditates, what he designs, our Hetman, whom he will assist with his might. It is not for us to know it. It is our part to pray to God, to be resigned in his presence."

The following Duma has neither the simplicity of popular poetry, nor is it flowing like a song, nor yet continuous as a tale: it is dithyrambic,

Byron-like—reminding us in some respects of the poetry in his *Giaour*. Three troops of Cossacks go forth on their way. The chiefs of the two first are filled with gloomy thoughts and ill-boding presentiments. The third chief, who according to tradition was a drunkard, and was buried by his companions in a brandy cask, sings a drinking song. These images, two dark and one bright, follow each other in the *Duma* without any apparent connection. Some of our modern poets, lovers of sanguinary and gloomy pictures, might envy the standard-bearer Samko his dark train of thought.

On! the Cossacks marched on four tracks—on four tracks and on a fifth field. But one track Samko followed. And the standard-bearer was accompanied by nearly three thousand men; all brave Zaporogues. They wheel their chargers; they brandish their swords—they beat their drums, pray to God, and sign themselves with the cross. But Samko? He wheels not his charger, he checks his steed, he reins him up with the bridle. He meditates; he thinks. May hell confound his meditations. Samko meditates; he thinks; he utters these words:—“What and if the Lachy burn our Cossacks as though they were in hell? And if they make them a banquet of our Cossack bones? What if our Cossack heads be scattered on the steppe and washed too with our native blood, and strewed over with our broken swords. It shall perish like dust, this Cossack fame of ours, which thief-like, has overrun the world, which stretched like the steppe and spread over the world with a sound like the roaring of the wind—it echoed through Turkey and through Tatar, and here it has caught the edge of the Lachy foes.

“The raven will croak, flying over the steppe; the cuckoo will mourn in the grove; grey hawks will moan, swift eagles will droop, and all this for their brethren, for the dauntless Cossack companions! What! did the whirlwind bury them in sand? or did they sink into hell, those dark men? They are no more seen; they are neither on the steppe, nor on the Tatar plains, nor on the Turkish mountains, nor upon the black hills, nor on the fields of Lachy. The raven will mourn, will scream, will croak, and fly over the stranger’s land. And then lo! bones lie strewn about, swords are flashing—bones crack, broken swords clash, and the black magpie looks grim and stalks over the plain. And the heads of the Cossacks? They are as though the boot-maker Semen had lost one of his twisted skins. And their long tresses? As though the devil had made wisps of straw—and all are grown stiff with clotted blood. Lo! verily they have earned fame enough.”

The *Duma*, strictly speaking, is an heroic elegy, consecrated to the memory of some distinguished chief. The following, remarkable for simplicity and pathos, commemorates the death of the Hetman Swiergowski:

When the Hetman John Swiergowski  
To the Turks became a prey;  
There they slew the gallant chieftain,  
They cut off his head that day.  
Their trumpets they blew, and his head on a spear  
They set, and they mocked him with jest and with jeer.  
Yonder see a cloud descending,  
Ravens gathering on the plain,  
Gloom above Ukraina spreading;  
She mourns and weeps her Hetman slain;  
Then fierce o’er the wide plain the mighty winds blew,  
“Oh answer, what did ye with our Hetman do?”  
Then black eagles soared past, screaming,  
“Where did ye make our Hetman’s grave?”  
And larks rose up, to heaven streaming,  
“Where did ye leave our Hetman brave?”  
“Where by Kilja’s fair city the tomb stands high,  
On the Turkish line doth your Hetman lie.”

Another Duma of this kind terminates by two truly poetic lines. They are supposed to be the words uttered by the Cossack Morozenko, as he is on the point of being quartered by the Turks or the Tatars, after having been flayed alive, or, as it is expressed in the Duma, "despoiled of his red shirt." The dying captive desires to look towards his native land, and exclaims :

"Oh could I go into the pure field on the high mountain,  
I would look, I would gaze on my Ukraina."

This aspiration after the pure field on the high mountain, whence to look upon his country, contrasted with the deplorable situation of the warrior, is deeply touching. It is true to nature and to the character of the speaker.

The following lines present a popular picture of a battle-field in that Ukraine where the "the air breathes sorrow."

The field in darkness lay,  
A Cossack there did ride;  
Up the mount he bent his way,  
Up the mountain's rugged side.  
And he spake to the mountain, "Oh high mountain say,  
Wherefore didst thou not burn at the breaking of day?"

"Oh I did not burn that day,  
But when the morning rose  
I boil'd with blood."—"Ha! mountain say,  
Was it blood of friends or foes?"  
"Oh fast ran the torrent of that red flood,  
And 'twas Cossack half-mingled with Polish blood."

The next Duma shows us a Cossack dying on the field of battle, and needs no comment to illustrate the train of feeling in the warrior's mind, to which it introduces us :

The wind is sighing, the grass makes moan,  
There a Cossack dying lies;  
His drooping head rests on a stone;  
A banner shades his closing eyes.

His sable steed is standing near,  
And at his head an eagle grey;  
His claws he twists in the Cossack's hair,  
And fiercely eyes his human prey.

The warrior spake to the eagle grey;  
"Eagle! let us brothers be—  
When from my head thou hast torn away  
These eyes, then go and speak of me.

Go, speak to my mother dear of me,  
And, eagle, now mark what thou must tell,  
To that mother dear, I no more shall see,  
When she shall ask how her warrior fell;

Tell her, he warred for a chief of fame,  
Who blessings shed on Crimea's land;  
Tatar Chan was his master's name;  
His meed might have been a royal hand,  
But oh! 'tis a mound on the plain."

The following lines form a good pendant to the foregoing, and are picturesque characteristics of the locality :

Oh the tomb in the field to the wild wind spake,  
And that lonely tomb to the wind spake so ;  
Blow over me wind, lest I withered be,  
Blow over me fresh, lest I blackened grow.

Blow, that the young grass may spring up upon me,  
That the young grass upon me may ever be green !  
No sun lights that tomb, and no breeze bloweth there,  
And far, only far off, the green grass is seen.

The next Duma exhibits the Cossack leaving his home for the battle-field, and well portrays the hardships of his condition. It may be considered as the prototype of many others, and is probably very ancient. The style is more allegoric, and the transitions more frequent, abrupt and bold, than is usually the case :

The storm shakes the forest, and fierce winds are striving,  
Thick gloom overshadows the plain ;  
The mother her son from his youth's home is driving—  
" Away, my son, turn not again—  
Hence ! let the Turks take their prey."  
" Oh mother, the Turks are right friendly to me,  
With a gift of fleet horses I welcome shall be."

The storm shakes the forest, and the fierce winds are striving ;  
Thick gloom overshadows the plain ;  
The mother her son from his youth's home is driving,  
" Away, my son ! turn not again ;  
Let the fierce Tatars seize on their prey."  
" O mother, the Tatars are friendly to me,  
With gold and with silver I welcome shall be !"

One sister brings his steed from stall,  
Another his arms proffered then ;  
But weeping said his sister small,  
" Say, brother, when wilt thou come back again ?"

" Oh sister mine, gather the sand of the plain,  
And the grains of sand on the bare stone sow ;  
And water it well with thy tears for rain,  
And to visit it daily, at grey dawn go ;  
When the sand shall spring up like the grass of the plain,  
Then, sister mine, look for thy brother again !

The storm shakes the forest, gloom darkens the plain,  
The mother cries—" Oh, my son, turn thee again ;  
Let thy mother's hands wash thy long hair !"  
" Oh mother, my hair will be washed by the rain,  
The wind of the desert will dry it again,  
And to comb it, thorn bushes are there."

From amongst the songs proper we select one called *Sentrawa*, a flower of the species *Anemone patens*. The Anemones, according to the Greek mythology, sprung from the tears shed by Venus over Adonis. In Ukraine prophetic qualities are ascribed to this flower.



SENTRAWA.

The aged woman went weeping, weeping,  
Sadly she made her wail;  
The aged woman about her dwelling  
Went mourning like an old quail.

The young sister pluck'd the Sentrawa,  
The flower foreshadowing doom;  
"Oh mother, what does the Sentrawa say?  
Does it tell of the Cossack's tomb?"

"The Sentrawa grew in the field, my dove,  
Sorrow pluck'd it and gave it to thee;  
There is sorrow enough, for thy brother John  
From the tomb cannot wakened be."

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cient.  
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Many of these songs complain of the rapid flight of time, and sometimes the fruitless regret for by-gone years is beautifully expressed:

Whither are ye fled, days of my youth? Have ye hidden yourselves in dark woods? are ye wandering in groves? Young years of mine, whither are ye gone? Did ye fold yourselves in a leaf, and take your flight into the steppe?"

This vain longing after the unreturning past is most usually expressed thus:

He (she) overtook his (her) young years upon the bridge of Holly, but could not recall them.

The Holly is a symbolical tree in Ukraine. Again, how simple, life-like and energetic is this picture of the irreparable loss of life. A mother is speaking at the tomb of her son:

"Reach me, my son, thou eagle, reach me but thy right hand."—"Oh! my mother, both hands would I reach thee, but the damp earth lies heavy on me; I cannot raise them."

The following too is a beautiful image:

A maiden threw a flower into the rapid stream.—Her mother went with a bucket to fetch water, and she drew up the flower out of the stream, and it was withered. Then she knew that her daughter would be unhappy."

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onis.

These few quotations justify the conclusion that it is in the power of man to ascend on the rays of feeling to that elevated sphere, whither we are borne on the wings of thought whilst listening to the lyric strains of Schiller. It is not, therefore, the delusion of a vain enthusiasm to believe that there is a spiritual life peculiar to *unlettered* nations, which is more sympathetic, quickened and plastic. Within the sphere of that existence generally dwells inspiration, the clear vision of the beautiful and true, to which in our days it is only given to a genius of high order to attain by the complete mastery of his art. The people of Ukraine still retain that high degree of clear-right feeling; they are ever magnetised by unceasing sorrow. Their parents thus bewail the loss of their children:

Fathers and mothers go, they go to ask after their sons. Eagles no more accompany your sons. Your sons refused to be soldiers; they made themselves a settlement in the River Boh!

That is, they drowned themselves to avoid being taken as recruits. How many similar *settlements* are now annually made in Russia! But let us turn from such subjects, which, according to Schiller's

Was unsterblich in Gesang soll leben  
Muss im Leben untergehen;

must first die in reality to live in song—to the times when the inhabitants of Ukraine, however otherwise unhappy, still enjoyed freedom—man's greatest earthly boon. We shall conclude our extracts by a Duma, entitled "*The Flight of the Three Brothers from Azoff*," a composition which may be read with pleasure without any reference to time or locality.

Dark clouds give not forth those specks in the sky  
That rise up, Azoff, o'er thy city so fair;  
But brethren three, and in secret they fly  
From their cruel captivity there.

The eldest they ride on their coursers fleet,  
But the younger brother he has no steed,  
The roots and the stones wound his Cossack feet,  
And they redden the ground as they bleed.

To his horsemen brothers then thus spake he:  
"Brothers, my brothers, now list what I say,  
Give rest to your coursers, and wait for me;  
Then to some Christian city direct your way."

And the second horseman then heard his cry,  
And his heart was moved at his brother's pain;  
But the first reproved him with stern reply,  
And said, "Dost thou yearn for thy bondage again?"

"Shall we listen now to our brother's word,  
Although the pursuers are on our track,  
Fierce bent to slay us with gun and with sword,  
Or to bear us with them to bondage back?"

"— If ye will not stay for me, my brethren twain,  
Then turn your fleet steeds to the right at least;  
And bury my corse in the open plain,  
Nor leave me the prey of the bird and the beast."

But the second said, "Brother, that may not we,  
Such a deed has never been heard of yet?  
Shall the thrust of a lance our farewell be?  
And our swords in our brother's blood be wet?"

"— Then, brothers, since me ye refuse to slay,  
When ye reach the wood do this thing for me;  
Cut off the thorn branches, and strew on the way,  
And a guide to my wandering steps they'll be."

The brothers speed fast to the forest grey,  
The second wails sadly as on they ride;  
And he scatters the thorn branches all the way,  
That they to his brother may serve as a guide.

They passed the thick forest, and on they went,  
To the open track where no thornbushes grew;

Then the lining red from his vest he rent,  
And scattered the fragments the path to show.

When the young brother the thorns had past,  
He saw the red fragments all scattered there,  
He gathered them up, and his tears fell fast,  
"Ah! not without cause are these fragments here.

"Now alas, alas, for my brethren twain!  
For surely no more in the world are they!  
Their cruel pursuers have found them again,  
And me they passed in the thorns as I lay.

"My brothers with sword and gun they have slain,  
May the merciful God but show me where!  
I'll dig their graves in the steppe's pure plain,  
And I'll bury their Cossack bodies there."

On this first day's journey no bread he eats;  
The next without water to drink he has past;  
On the third, the desert's fierce wind he meets,  
And his weary limbs bend to the furious blast.

"Oh, enough have I followed these horsemen fleet,"  
He said, as he reached the Sawar mountain high,  
"Tis time to give rest to my Cossack feet;"  
Then he laid him down by the mount to die.

Then swiftly, swiftly the eagles flew down,  
And they fiercely stared in his dying eyes;  
"Now welcome guests are ye, ye eagles brown;  
Oh fly to me quickly," the Cossack cries.

"Oh eagles, pluck ye these eyes from my head  
When God's fair world I no longer shall see;"  
The expiring Cossack when thus he had said,  
His soul to the merciful God gave he.

Then the eagles flew down, and they pluck'd away  
His eyes from his head, as he bade them do;  
The small birds also came down to their prey,  
And the grey wolves gathered around him too.

They tore off the flesh from his yellow bones,  
They feasted high midst the thorns by the way,  
And with mournful howls, and with fierce low moans,  
The dirge of the Cossack was sung that day.

Whence came the brown cuckoo that sat by his head,  
That sat by his head and sang piteously?  
As a sister bewails her brother dead,  
Or a mother her son, so wailed she!

And the horsemen twain still sped on their way  
To a Christian town, where they hoped for rest:  
But a heavy grief on their hearts now lay;  
"Ah! not without cause are our hearts oppress.

"Alas, and alas, for our younger brother!  
For surely no more in the world is he;  
What, when we've greeted our father and mother,  
And they ask of him, shall our answer be?"

The second thus spoke; then the elder said,  
 "Say, he served not the same Lord as we;  
 'Twas night, and he slept when from chains we fled,  
 We could not awake him with us to flee."

The second then answered him, "Brother, nay,  
 'T would ill beseem us to say such a thing;  
 If that which is false unto them we say,  
 Their prayers upon us will a dark doom bring."

The brothers on to the Samar field ride,  
 They stop to rest by the river Samar;  
 They water their steeds at the river's side,  
 When down came the Moslem, riding from far.

The impious Mussulmen slew them there,  
 They quartered their bodies, and over the plain  
 Strewed their Cossack limbs; their heads on a spear  
 They raised, and long mocked o'er the brethren twain.

We regret our inability to preserve in the translations the beauty, harmony and energy of the original. Those only who understand the language of the people of Ukraine can appreciate the richness of its grammatical construction, and the almost countless and delicate gradations of meaning, of which the same word is made susceptible by a slight change in its termination. The sonorous strains of these songs can perhaps best be conceived of, by imagining the ancient Greek combined with the modern Italian. We will not here speak of their melodies, since mere description would fail to convey a just idea of them. Of this species of music we have amongst us no prototype. The strains seem to flow like long protracted gusts of wind resounding over their own steppes. When they sing them on the banks of the Dnieper, with their faces turned towards the Karpats, one might believe that their voice passes over all that wide space between the river and the mountains, and that the mountains themselves must one day be moved by the majestic grandeur of their sorrow.

Many of the songs published by Maxymowicz were composed by Polish nobles settled in Ukraine. Even at the present day one of them, Padura, promises to become the Macpherson of that country; his compositions are universally popular, and well deserve to be so. Perhaps we may at some future opportunity return to this subject, and notice them more at length.

As it is an unalterable truth, that "revenge recoils upon itself," so yet more does every good intention, every good action of man sooner or later bring its recompense. This remark is especially applicable in the present instance to the Poles, than whom none have derived greater benefit from the popular songs of Ukraine, since they have begun to take interest in them. Their own venerable Niemcewicz modelled upon them his "Duma," which sing of the famous monarchs and heroes of Poland, and which have become a complete national work. The element of Ukrainian poetry has since been transfused into modern Polish literature, to the very great advantage of the latter. Four Polish poets of no ordinary genius have divided amongst them the spiritual domain of Ukraine; Zaleski and Olizaroski are singing her beauty and ancient freedom: Goszczynski has



pictured her horrors, whilst Maczewski chose the widest field for himself—that of her sorrow. With the exception of the last-named poet, who is dead, the others, Niemcewicz included, are tuning, in exile, their harps to foreign ears.

*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

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## ARTICLE X.

### ANCIENT AND MODERN LIBRARIES.

*Translated and condensed from the "Journal des Travaux de la Société Française de Statistique Universelle."*

By the Junior Editor.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The French Society of Universal Statistics was formed in November, 1829. Its founder and most efficient supporter was M. César Moreau, who had previously distinguished himself in England, by his knowledge of the statistics of that country. The Society began with eighteen members; in March, 1830, it had enrolled three hundred and two. Its object is sufficiently indicated by its title. It endeavors to collect statistical information without any restriction as to age, country, or subject. The most valuable papers communicated to the Society are published in a monthly journal. The volumes already issued exhibit great industry and care. Some of the discussions are exceedingly able and instructive.

The paper, from which this article is taken, was prepared by M. Bailly, and published in April and May, 1833. It takes, as our readers will perceive, a rapid and comprehensive survey of *ancient and modern libraries*. We have seen nothing equally concise, which is more complete and satisfactory. It would be idle to attempt, in the compass of a few pages, to exhaust a subject which would fill volumes. The writer has evidently given us the results of much labor and research. If he has committed occasional mistakes, he has done nothing more than was to be expected. Those, who are the best qualified to test the correctness of his statements, will be the readiest to acknowledge the impossibility of attaining to perfect accuracy.

As the article is valuable only on account of its facts, we have taken considerable liberty with the style. It has been our aim to present the substance of the paper, in a condensed and intelligible form. In one or two instances, we have altered the arrangement. The speculations of the writer, respecting the libraries of the Jews, we have omitted: there is no evidence that they possessed any books, except the writings which constituted the Old Testament, till the third century of the Christian era.

For some reason not explained, that part of M. Bailly's communication, which relates to the libraries of France, has never been published. To complete the article, according to the plan contemplated by him, we subjoin a brief sketch of the libraries of that country: the data are mainly furnished by the journal of the Society already mentioned.

The reader will bear in mind that the term *volume*, as applied to ancient writings, is very indefinite in respect to material, shape and size. The materials of the old MSS. were linen, cotton, papyrus, parchment, wood and ivory; and these, to some extent, regulated the form of the book. Sometimes the volume was square or oblong, and it frequently corresponded to the natural shape of the papyrus or parchment. A very common form was that of *rolls*: hence our *volume*.—JR. ED.

#### ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

##### *Chaldæa, Phenicia, and Egypt.*

Of the libraries of Chaldæa we have no account. There must have been many learned men in that country, especially in astronomy, as appears from a series of observations, extending through 1900 years, which Callisthenes sent to Aristotle, after the capture of Babylon by Alexander. Eusebius informs us that the Phenicians were very fond of collections of books. But the largest and best chosen libraries were those of Egypt. According to Diodorus Siculus, the first who founded a library in Egypt was Osymandyas, the successor of Proteus, and contemporary of Priam, king of Troy. Pierius, who died A. D. 1558, says that this prince was so fond of study, that he established a library, adorned with statues of all the gods of Egypt, and bearing this inscription: "The Treasure of the Remedies of the Soul." There was a very fine library at Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan. It is of this that Naucrates speaks, when he charges Homer with having stolen the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and given them to the world as his own productions.

But the largest library of Egypt, and perhaps of the world, was that of the Ptolemies, at Alexandria. It was commenced by Ptolemy Soter. By his direction, and at great expense, Demetrius Phalereus collected the books of all nations: their number is variously estimated from 54,800 to 200,000 volumes. Increasing under subsequent princes, it numbered at length 700,000 volumes. Philadelphus gave an exorbitant price for a part of the works of Aristotle; and he obtained a large number of books from Rome, Athens, Persia and Ethiopia. It was this prince who procured the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek: the version of the LXX. was carefully deposited in the principal apartment. Ptolemy Physcon, a cruel prince, was equally desirous to increase the Alexandrian library. It is said, that, in a time of famine, he refused corn to the Athenians, unless they would forward to him the original tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides: but, instead of restoring them as he had agreed, he returned *copies*, abandoning the fifteen talents which he had sent to Athens, as a pledge for the fulfilment of his promise.

During the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar, this library was burned ;—the flames, which he communicated to the royal fleet, spreading farther than he intended. Some writers suppose that only 400,000 volumes were consumed ; and that, from the portion saved, together with the library of the king of Pergamus, containing 200,000 volumes, which Mark Antony gave to Cleopatra, a new one was formed which soon outnumbered the former. Under the Roman emperors, various changes befell the second Alexandrian library, and it was finally destroyed by Amrou, in obedience to the command of the Caliph Omar. Its treasures were used in heating the public baths of the city. Six months were required for their entire consumption.\*

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\* The fifth volume of the work, from which this article is taken, has a valuable paper on the Alexandrian Library, from the pen of M. M. F. Chatelain, the substance of which we give in this place, as it bears directly on the statement of M. Bailly. The first Alexandrian Library, according to M. Chatelain, was placed in the Museum. Philadelphus founded a second, which he placed in the temple of Serapis, at a considerable distance from the former. The two were subsequently called—*The Mother and the Daughter*. The former was consumed during the siege of Cæsar, but the latter was saved. Seneca and Orosius estimate the number of books destroyed at 400,000 : as the whole number in Alexandria was 700,000, we may infer that the new library contained about 300,000. It was this collection which was enlarged by the donation of Antony. Aulus Gellius and Ammianus Marcellinus seem to suppose that all the books in Alexandria were destroyed by Cæsar. But we learn from Suetonius, that Domitian sent men to Alexandria, who made copies of a large number of books which were not in his library. The temple of Serapis was burned by Theodosius the Great, A. D. 391, but a portion of the library survived. Orosius, who went to Alexandria A. D. 415, saw many books which had once belonged to this collection. From this date we hear nothing respecting it, till we come to the conquest of Alexandria by the Arabs.

The common belief that Amrou destroyed it, rests on the statement of Abdollatiph and Abulpharagius. The former, who wrote about A. D. 1200, informs us that he had seen the building “erected by Alexander the Great, which contained the splendid library that Amrou burned by the command of Omar ;—to whom God be merciful.” Abulpharagius, who wrote a few years later, is more circumstantial. He informs us that John of Alexandria, being treated with much consideration by Amrou, requested him to spare “the books of philosophy, which are contained in the Royal Treasure.” Amrou replied that he could dispose of nothing without the permission of Omar. He wrote to the Caliph, and received this answer :—“The books of which you speak either agree with the book of God, in which case they are useless, or they contradict the book of God, in which case they ought to be destroyed.” Amrou accordingly distributed them among the different baths of the city, which they heated for six months.

The conduct ascribed to Omar is repugnant alike to his known character, and to the sentiments of Mohammedan casuists. The latter ex-

*Asia Minor and Persia.*

The library of Pergamus, to which allusion has been made, was founded by Eumenes II. and his brother Attalus II. These princes made every possible effort to equal the splendor of the kings of Egypt; espe-

pressly declare, that "it is not proper to destroy the books of Christians, because we should respect the name of God in them, and every believer may lawfully peruse profane writings on history, poetry, philosophy and natural history." But the truth of this story is materially impugned by another consideration. The building erected by Alexander the Great, which Abdollatiph says that he saw, had been destroyed more than 900 years; and, indeed, that portion of the city in which it once stood, during that whole period, was a heap of ruins. Abulpharagius places the library in the Royal Treasure; but this was in the same quarter, and must have shared the same fate.

Besides, Euty chius, patriarch of Alexandria, who lived 200 years after the conquest of the city, and who has given a detailed account of this event, says not a word about the destruction of the library. Elmacin, author of a history of the Saracens, and a resident of Egypt, is equally silent, though he gives us a biography of Omar, and a full narrative of the capture of Alexandria. How shall we account for the fact, that the first report which reaches us, respecting this important occurrence, comes from the confines of Media, in the thirteenth century? But Euty chius and Elmacin have preserved the letter in which Amrou informs Omar of his success in taking Alexandria. He describes the wealth and resources of the place—"4,000 palaces, 4,000 baths, 400 theatres, 40,000 taxable Jews and 12,000 gardeners"—but says nothing of the library; and yet, according to Abulpharagius, he was a friend to learning. Omar, in reply, orders every thing in the city to be spared. If it is said that these two historians may have fabricated these letters, the answer is, that, in this case, the library, had there been one, would certainly have been mentioned. Men of learning, such as they were, would be quite as likely to include the library as theatres, baths, etc.

Again, the statement, that this library heated 4,000 baths for six months, is absurd on the face of it. If we suppose the number of books to have been 400,000 volumes, a large estimate as we shall presently see, and divide them among 4,000 baths, the daily allowance of each becomes very small. And what fuel! Old parchments and rolls of papyrus! What an exquisite perfume must they have given out to fill the baths and the city!

But if this library was not in existence at the time of Omar, what had become of it? If we recur to the calamities which had successively visited this devoted city, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for its destruction. To say nothing of the troubles which grew out of the ecclesiastical controversies of Egypt, the temple of Serapis was partially burned during the reign of Commodus. Caracalla was the scourge of Alexandria. Aurelian gave it up to the indiscriminate pillage of his soldiers, and then demolished a part of it. Theodosius the Great burned the temple of Serapis and the adjacent buildings. The library,



cially by the collection of a prodigious number of books, according to Pliny, 200,000 volumes. Cardinal Volaterrani says that these were all burnt at the taking of Pergamus; but Pliny and others assure us, that Antony gave them to Cleopatra. Neither statement agrees with that of Strabo, who states, that, in his time, i. e. under Tiberius, the library was still at Pergamus. These different accounts may be reconciled by supposing, that, after the battle of Actium, Augustus, willing to undo what Antony had done, restored the books to Pergamus. But this is mere conjecture. There was a large library at Susa in Persia. It was here that Metosthenes obtained the documents which enabled him to write his history. It is generally supposed that this library was not so much a collection of scientific works, as of the archives of the Persian empire.

### *Greece.*

The Lacedemonians had no books; but as soon as learning began to flourish at Athens, Greece was enriched with various literary productions. Valerius Maximus says that the tyrant Pisistratus was the first who established a public library, who was influenced in part, perhaps, by his desire to ingratiate himself with those who were groaning beneath his usurpations. Cicero tells us that to him belongs the glory of arranging the poems of Homer in one volume, and in the order which they still retain. Plato ascribes the same honor to Hipparchus, his son; Plutarch, to Lycurgus; Ælian, to Zenodotus; others, to Solon. After the death of Pisistratus, the Athenians greatly increased the library which he began, and founded others also. But Xerxes, having conquered the city, carried away all their books to Persia. If we believe Aulus Gellius, Seleucus Nicator restored them. Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea and the disciple of Plato and Socrates, founded a library in his capital, thereby diminishing the horror which his cruelties inspired.

### *Rome.*

The old Romans had fewer books even than the early Greeks. They had two kinds of libraries, public and private. The former contained laws, edicts, etc.; the latter were formed by individuals for their own use. The Romans had sacred libraries also, supplied by their priests and augurs. The Senate gave to the family of Regulus all the books

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by this time, must have become very much reduced in size, and Theodosius the Younger, whose biblio-mania equalled that of the Plotemies, may have taken it away. And if it was not appropriated by the conquerors of Egypt, it may have been scattered in the different monasteries and schools of the empire. It is certain that there was a great number of books in Egypt in the ninth century.—*Journal of the Society of Universal Statistics*, Vol. V. pp. 30—32.  
Jn. Ed.

which were found at the taking of Carthage, procuring, at the same time, the translation of 28 volumes on agriculture, written by Mago, the Carthaginian. Plutarch says that Paulus Æmilius bequeathed the books which he brought from Macedonia, after the defeat of Perseus, to his children; but Isodorus affirms that he gave them to the public. Asinius Pollio founded a public library which was enriched with the spoils of his conquests; besides a great number of books which he purchased. It was adorned with the portraits of the learned—Varro and others. Varro himself had a splendid library. Plutarch mentions the library of Lucullus as one of the best in the world, both on account of its size and its superb decorations. The collection of Cicero must have been very valuable, enlarged as it was by that of his friend Atticus, which the Roman orator prized, as he said, more than the wealth of the Lydian King. That of Cæsar was worthy of the man: the care of it was committed to Varro.

### *The Roman Empire.*

Augustus founded a noble library on the Palatine Hill, near the temple of Apollo. Horace, Juvenal and Persius mention it as a place where poets were accustomed to recite and deposit their works. Vespasian established a library near the temple of Peace. But the Ulpian Library, founded by Trajan for public use, surpassed every other in magnificence. Some authors affirm that he brought all the books to Rome which were found in the conquered cities. It is probable that Pliny the Younger in this way added to its treasures. The library of Simonides, the preceptor of the emperor Gordian, was very large. According to Isodorus, it contained 80,000 selected volumes: the apartments in which it was placed were ornamented in the costliest style. He bequeathed it to the emperor.

The primitive Christians had but little leisure for the accumulation of books; it was not till their persecutions ceased that they possessed many extensive collections. Eusebius informs us that every church had its library for the use of those who applied themselves to study; but Diocletian destroyed nearly all of them, together with the oratories in which they were kept. Julius Africanus founded a library at Cæsarea, which Eusebius increased to 20,000 volumes. Jerome derived much assistance from it in correcting the text of the Old Testament; and here he found the gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. The library at Antioch was quite celebrated; but Jovian destroyed it to please his wife. Augustine speaks of one at Hippo. Those of Jerome and George, Bishop of Alexandria, are mentioned with commendation.

Constantine the Great, according to Zonaras, founded his library, A. D. 336. Wishing to repair the injury which his predecessor had inflicted on the Christians, he did every thing in his power to discover the books which had been put in jeopardy. Obtaining copies of these, and purchasing others, he formed a very large collection. In it was deposited

the authentic copy of the proceedings of the Council of Nice. Julian would have been glad to destroy this library, and with it all the books of the Christians, that he might plunge them in ignorance. At the same time he established two libraries, one at Constantinople and one at Antioch. Upon the front of each, he placed this inscription: "Alii quidem equos amant, alii aves, alii feras; mihi vero a puerulo mirandum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium." Theodosius the Younger increased the library of Constantine to 100,000 volumes. More than half of it was burned by Leo the Isaurian, who wished to destroy the evidence of his heresy, in respect to image-worship. According to Zonaras, this collection amounted to 120,000 volumes, under the emperor Basil. In it, as some writers affirm, were the Iliad and the Odyssey, written in letters of gold, on the intestines of a dragon 120 feet long. It has also been said that here was a copy of the gospels, which was covered with a plate of gold, weighing 15 pounds, and set with precious stones.

The barbarians, who inundated the south of Europe, generally destroyed the libraries which they found. In this way many valuable works have been lost. Cassiodorus, the favorite and minister of Theodoric, was the first of the Ostrogoths who became the friend and patron of learning. Weary of the cares of government, he built a convent, in which he spent the last years of his life, in devotion and study. Here he founded a library for the benefit of the monks who were his companions in solitude. About this time Pope Hilary I. established two libraries.

Charlemagne founded a library in the neighborhood of Lyons, which was enriched with a great number of volumes magnificently bound. Sabellicus and Palmerius affirm that the works of St. Denis—a present from the emperor at Constantinople—were deposited here. This prince established schools in Germany for the instruction of the young, connected with which were valuable libraries. Pepin, by the advice of Boniface, the apostle of Germany, had already founded a school of this description at Fulda. It was at this place that Rabanus Maurus and Hildebert pursued their studies at the same time. But the library, which Charlemagne founded in his palace at Aix la Chapelle, surpassed every other. Before his death, however, he ordered it to be sold, that the avails might be distributed to the poor; his son and successor, Louis le Débonnaire, did every thing in his power to protect and encourage learning.

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#### MODERN LIBRARIES.

##### A S I A .

In the tenth century, no people surpassed the Arabs in the cultivation of literature. About two hundred years before that time, when ignorance covered the whole of Arabia, their Caliphs had introduced the love of learning. Almamon I. having conquered Michel III., the emperor at

Constantinople, insisted on the privilege of selecting from the Imperial Library and elsewhere, whatever books he desired to be translated into Arabic. In every city the productions of eastern learning were copied and collected.

There is no nation which prizes knowledge so highly as China. The lowest office cannot be obtained without the possession of learning. Hence every one who aspires to distinction must devote himself to study. The mere reputation of study is not sufficient; the candidate must submit to three protracted and severe examinations. It follows, therefore, that the Chinese must have a great number of books. Historians inform us, that two hundred years before the Christian era, an emperor of China ordered all the books in his kingdom to be burned, except those which treated of agriculture, medicine and divination. He supposed that, in this way, the names of his predecessors would soon be forgotten, and posterity would celebrate the praise of none but himself. A woman, however, preserved the writings of Confucius—the Socrates of China—and many others, by gluing them to the wall of her house, and keeping them there till the tyrant's death. These writings, especially those of Confucius, are regarded in China as the oldest in the world. Nine books, written by this philosopher, are still extant, and they are the source of nearly all that has since appeared. According to Father Trigault, a distinguished Chinaman, having become a convert to Christianity, spent four days in burning his books, that he might retain nothing which savored of his former religion. Spizellius says, in his work *De Re Litteraria Sinensium*, that on Mount Lingumen there is a library of 30,000 volumes; also, that there is one in the temple of Venchung, near the royal school, of nearly the same size.

Japan has some very large libraries. It is said by travellers that there is a temple in Narad, dedicated to Xaca, near which are the buildings of the priests; one of which is supported by twenty-four columns, and contains a room that is filled with books.

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#### A F R I C A.

The Ethiopians have very little taste for profane literature; consequently, they have few Greek and Latin authors on history, philosophy, etc. They have paid more attention to sacred literature; but even here their books are generally translations from the Greek.

A wonderful story is told of a library in a monastery of Ethiopia. It is divided into three parts, and contains 10,100,000 volumes! It owes its origin to the Queen of Sheba, who received from Solomon a great number of books; particularly those of Enoch, on the elements and other philosophical subjects; those of Noah, on mathematics and sacred rites; those of Abraham, written in Mamre, where he taught astronomy to the men who assisted him to recapture Lot. In this collection are found the works of Job, Esdras, the Sibyls, the Prophets and High Priests of the



Jews; together with those which the Queen of Sheba and her son Memilech are said to have written. Some credulous men have received all this as true.

King Manzor founded several schools and public libraries at Morocco; in one of which, the Arabs boast, is the first copy of the Justinian code. Eupennas says that the library at Fez contains 32,000 volumes. Some pretend that all the Decades of Livy are here, with the works of Pappus, a distinguished mathematician of Alexandria, of Hippocrates, Galen and others, whose writings have reached us only in fragments, if at all.

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## EUROPE.

### *Turkey.*

In the eleventh century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, emperor at Constantinople, became the patron of science. Learned men arose in Greece, who, attracted by his fame, sought that encouragement in his court which Europe refused to afford. The emperor selected and employed the most suitable of them to collect a library, and he gave to this work his personal attention and labor. When the Turks became masters of Constantinople, learning fled to Italy, France and Germany, where she was received with open arms. The library of the Greek emperors was not destroyed at the fall of Constantinople. On the contrary, it was the express command of Mahommed II., that it should be spared and transferred to the seraglio. Amurath IV., however, sacrificed the whole to his implacable hatred of Christianity.

The library of the seraglio was commenced by Selim, the conqueror of Egypt; barbarian as he was, this prince was the friend of learning. But this library contained only 3000 or 4000 volumes—Turkish, Arabic and Persian—without one Greek MS. Maurocordato, prince of Walachia, finding a number of these MSS. scattered through the monasteries of Greece, formed an extensive collection. It appeared, however, that but little care had been bestowed on these precious relics, in a land where science and art had flourished during so long a period.

The Turks are by no means destitute of literature. Attempts have been frequently made to establish a press at Constantinople; but the copyists have always resisted the measure. Recently, however, the government has disregarded all opposition, and, already, a large number of books have been printed in Turkish. According to Thornton, that contempt of literature, which prevails so extensively among the Turks, is not to be charged upon their religion,—in proof of which, we have only to look at the Arabs and Persians,—but upon the ignorance and barbarism of their ancestors. But this contempt of learning has been greatly exaggerated. The Turks have their poets, their orators and their historians. A library and a college for the instruction of youth are necessary accompaniments of the larger mosques. There are thirty-five libraries at

Constantinople, which have more than a thousand volumes, with a catalogue giving the title and the contents of each volume. The most remarkable of these are the two connected with the mosques of St. Sophia and Solyman. The most elegant was built by the Vizier Raghib; it contains, however, little besides theology. The Porte has recently ordered some of the best libraries at Constantinople to be sold by weight; particularly those of certain individuals of high rank, whose wealth, patriotism and talents had excited the jealousy of the government. No Greek MSS. can now be found in the seraglio, though it is certain that many were there in the eighteenth century. In 1685, M. Girardin, the French ambassador at the Ottoman court, purchased fifteen of the most valuable and sent them to Paris. The remainder, 124 in number, were sold for 100 francs each. If any are left in the different libraries, they can be easily recognized by the arms and seal of the sultan. Of the MSS. sent to Paris, one was a copy of Plutarch's entire works on vellum. Another was a copy of Herodotus. It appears that this library was robbed about the year 1638, for Mr. Greaves bought a number of MSS.—which, he was assured, once belonged to this collection. In 1678, there was at Constantinople an Arabic translation of Aristotle, now supposed to be lost.

The seraglio has several other libraries; to them, however, no access has been hitherto obtained. It is known that 1294 MSS. most of them Arabic or translations into Arabic from the Turkish or Persian,—are there deposited. The subjects treated in them are theology, law, medicine, logic, philosophy, grammar, history, philology and belles lettres. The building in which they are placed resembles, in shape, a Greek cross. One of the arms is used as a vestibule; the rest is devoted to the library. In the vestibule and over the door which opens into the interior of the edifice: is this inscription: "*Enter in Peace.*"

### *Great Britain.*

Many of the ancient libraries of England and Ireland were destroyed during the hostile incursions to which these countries were once exposed. The loss of the one which Egbert, Archbishop of York established is particularly to be regretted. It shared the fate of the Cathedral of York and the convent of St. Mary. Gauthier labored with great assiduity to found a large library at the monastery of St. Albans; but this was pillaged by Danish pirates. In the eleventh century, Richard de Burg, Bishop of Durham, treasurer and chancellor of England, formed a library which was widely known and greatly admired. This learned prelate did every thing in his power to make it as complete as possible. He published a treatise on the choice of books and the formation of a library, which he called *Philobiblion*. Books, he says, are the best teachers: "*Hi sunt magistri qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferulis, sine cholera, sine pecunia; si accedis, non dormiunt; si inquiris, non se abscondunt; non obmurmurant, si oberres; cachinnos nesciunt, si ignores.*"

Of more recent collections, the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, was found-

ed by Sir Thomas Bodley, who was ambassador at several European courts, during the reign of Elizabeth. It contains 400,000 printed volumes, and 25,000 MSS. Books are never taken away from the building, but every facility is afforded for consultation. Its income is about £3,000, and it receives a copy of every book which is printed in Great Britain. A few years since 2,040 MSS.—Greek, Latin and Hebrew—were purchased at Venice, and added to the collection. The entire expense exceeded £6,600. John Uri, a learned Hungarian, spent more than five years in preparing the catalogue. The library of the British Museum, founded in 1755, contains about 200,000 volumes. In 1762, it was increased by the addition of 32,000 pamphlets, in 2,000 volumes. Soon after the accession of George IV. to the throne, it was further increased by the donation of the *Royal Library*. This collection was begun by George III., who purchased the library of Mr. Joseph Smith, Consul at Venice, at the cost of £10,000, and annually expended £2,000 for its enlargement. When given to the British Museum it contained 90,000 volumes. The library belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, is remarkably complete in the scientific department. It contains 200,000 volumes, and is receiving constant accessions from new publications. It is open to all the students—graduates and under-graduates.

The library attached to the University of Edinburgh has 50,000 printed volumes and some MSS. The Law Library at Edinburgh has 80,000 printed volumes and 1,600 MSS. It is very rich in history, antiquities and jurisprudence. The library belonging to the University of Glasgow contains 30,000 volumes, besides that of the late Dr. Hunter, which is a choice collection of the ancient classics. The Library of St. Andrews, has about 36,000 volumes, and the College of Aberdeen, 14,000. The library connected with Trinity College, Dublin, contains 50,000 printed volumes, and about 1,100 MSS. These are in Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, English and Irish.

#### *Denmark.*

The Royal Library at Copenhagen contains 400,000 printed volumes, and a large number of MSS. It was increased 50,000 volumes at the sale of the collection of Count Otto That, which amounted to 116,395. The Count had bequeathed to the royal library 4,154 MSS., and 6,159 works which were printed before 1530. In 1779, the Danish government bought the Library of Luxdorf, rich in the classics and in MSS. Since that time the Royal Library has been enlarged by the purchase of different collections. In 1796, the patriotic Suhm made a valuable addition to it. This learned historian had brought together 100,000 volumes: just before his death, that the benefit of his labors might survive him, he gave the whole to the royal library.

#### *Sweden.*

The library which Christina founded at Stockholm is very valuable.

It contains one of the earliest copies of the Koran—some pretend, the original—one of the Sultans having sent it to the emperor of the Romans. The library of Stockholm numbers 250,000 printed volumes and 5,000 MSS. The library of the University of Upsal has more than 50,000 volumes, and among them a copy of the gospels in Gothic, written upon vellum, with letters of gold and silver.

### *Russia.*

Prior to the reign of Peter the Great, this country had produced no scientific works, and it had scarcely the shadow of a literature. But this great man, in the midst of the distractions of war, founded several academies in different parts of his empire, and bestowed much care and expense upon the formation of a library in connection with his academy at St. Petersburg. At first it consisted of 2,500 volumes which the Czar had captured at Mittau. Now it numbers more than 40,000 volumes. It has many diplomatic documents belonging to the times of Peter; it has more Chinese works than any library in Europe, many MSS. from Japan, Thibet and Mogul. The Imperial Library at the Hermitage has 300,000 volumes. It is made up in part of the collections of several distinguished men of the last century,—Diderot, Voltaire, d'Alembert, etc. It was greatly enlarged by the addition of a Polish library, hereafter to be noticed. In addition to these, several other libraries might be mentioned, as that of the Grand Duke Constantine, containing 30,000 volumes, that of the Academy of Science, 60,000 volumes,—3,000 Chinese,—that of the Imperial Cadets, 12,000 volumes, etc. St. Petersburg has more than twenty well chosen private libraries.

At Moscow there are two libraries; one belonging to the University, and the other to the Synod: the last is rich in Greek MSS. Both suffered severely in the conflagration of 1812, but they are now flourishing. We can barely name the collections of Demidorf, Kasan, Astrachan,—the last contains many Persian and Tartar MSS.,—the library of the University of Dorpat, which has 30,000 volumes, those of Abo, Wilna, Kief and Khatkof. The library of Riga is very valuable: every municipal magistrate, on assuming his office, is required to make a donation to it of one volume. It retains the original letter which Luther sent to the magistracy, in reply to their request of a preacher.

### *Poland.*

The library of Warsaw contains about 70,000 volumes, generally modern. Great care has been bestowed upon the selection. There are several other large collections in this city, that, for example of the Society of the Friends of Letters. Since the revival of learning in Poland, many excellent private libraries have been formed. That which the family of Prince Czartoryski has repeatedly enlarged at great expense is the most



celebrated. Cracow once possessed a very valuable collection of books, known as the Library of the Republic or of the Zaluski. It was founded for public use in 1745, by two brothers bearing this name. At one time, it contained 250,000 volumes, besides 50,000 duplicates. It was subsequently reduced to 200,000. After having been repeatedly pillaged, it was sent to St. Petersburg by Suwaroff in 1795, and united to the Imperial Library.

#### *Holland and Belgium.*

Leyden has two libraries. The one belonging to the University was founded by William I., Prince of Orange. It contains the MSS.—Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean, Persian, Russian and American—which were once owned by Joseph Scaliger. The Complutensian Bible is among its treasures. This book was a present from Philip II., king of Spain, to the Prince of Orange, who gave it to the library. The collection has been enriched from time to time, by the addition of private libraries,—among others, that of Isaac Vossius. The libraries at Brussels, Amsterdam, Antwerp, etc. are curious and valuable.

#### *Germany.*

Germany is well supplied with excellent libraries. Among the largest are those of Leipsic, Augsburg and Frankfort on the Oder. But the most interesting of all is that of the emperor at Vienna, which contains more than 330,000 volumes, with a great number of MSS.—Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, Greek and Latin. It was founded by Maximilian, in 1480, and fills eight large apartments; another room is devoted to medals and curiosities. Besides this, there are eight public libraries in Vienna. The one belonging to the University has 108,000 volumes. Berlin has seven libraries. The Royal Library was founded by Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. It has 160,000 volumes, and, among other curiosities, several MSS. of the time of Charlemagne, ornamented with gold and precious stones. The library at Munich, has 400,000 volumes; one at Dresden has 250,000; one at Göttingen, 280,000,—110,000 dissertations and 5,000 MSS.; one at Wolfenbüttel, 190,000,—40,000 dissertations and 4,000 MSS.; one at Stuttgart, 170,000,—12,000 Bibles; one at Prague, 110,000; one at Frankfort on the Maine, 100,000; one at Hamburg, 100,000; one at Breslau, 100,000; one at Gratz, 105,000; one at Weimar, 95,000; one at Mentz, 90,000; one at Darmstadt, 85,000. In the public libraries of thirty cities in Germany, there are more than 3,000,000 printed volumes, to say nothing of MSS., academical discourses and political pamphlets. There is a library at Erfurt for the benefit of children whose parents are too poor to purchase books. It was founded by a society established for this purpose. The books are lent to the children on the responsibility of the parents, who pay one cent for every volume taken from the library. The income is devoted to the purchase of new books, after defraying expenses.

*Switzerland.*

The library at Basle has a MS. of the New Testament in letters of gold, which assisted Erasmus in correcting the text of the Bible. The collection of this distinguished scholar is still retained in Basle. The library at Schaffhausen is rich in works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It has been enriched by valuable private libraries, among others, that of Muller the historian. Besides the public collection at Berne, there is one known as the Library of the Preachers. Lausanne has a library sustained by yearly subscriptions and contributions. A village in the Canton of St. Gall has a library which is intended to circulate books, adapted to promote those civic virtues which are so highly prized in this country. It has done much already to counteract the poison which is disseminated by the pedlars of almanacs, indecent songs, etc.

*Italy.*

The Library of St. Mark at Venice is justly celebrated, particularly for its MSS. Some pretend that it contains the gospel of Mark in his own handwriting. In truth, however, the MS. claimed to have been his has become so much defaced that whether it was originally Greek or Latin, cannot now be determined. The collection which Petrarch bequeathed to the republic has been placed in a library founded by the Senate. Padua, so famous for its University and scholars, is amply furnished with libraries. The best are those of St. Justin, St. Anthony and St. John of the Lateran. In the last of these, Sixtus of Sienna says he saw a copy of Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans and made an extract from it. The Library of Padua was established by Pignorius. The library of the Duke of Mantua may be reckoned among the most curious in the world. It suffered much during the wars which broke out in Italy in 1701. It contains the famous plate of bronze covered with Egyptian hieroglyphics which the learned Pignorius explained. There is a magnificent library at Ferrara, which contains a great number of MSS. and other relics of antiquity. It is the repository of the statues, pictures and medals that formerly belonged to Ligorius, the celebrated architect. In the library at Naples are the entire works of Pontamos, which were a present from his daughter. The Library of St. Ambrose at Milan was commenced by Cardinal Borromeo: it has 46,000 printed volumes and more than 12,000 MSS. The Library of Florence contains 90,000 printed volumes, and 3,000 MSS., including almost every thing which is splendid, curious and instructive. The gospel of John, deposited here, is claimed to have been written by the apostle himself. It has a large collection of ancient statues, busts and medals. Florence has other libraries of great value, particularly in MSS. There is an excellent library at Pisa; and another at Turin; the latter belongs to the King of Sardinia and is enriched by the MSS. of Ligorius.

Nicholas V. founded a library at Rome, consisting of 6000 volumes.

It is sometimes said that this collection owes its origin to Sixtus V., because he greatly enlarged it. Under Calixtus III., the successor of Nicholas, its contents were dispersed; but it was re-established by Sixtus IV. In 1537, it was almost entirely destroyed, at the taking of Rome by the army of Charles V., under the command of the Constable of Bourbon. Sixtus V., the friend of learning and the learned, not only restored the library to its former splendor, but greatly increased its treasures. It had been removed to the Vatican by Sixtus IV; Clement V. transferred it to Avignon, and Martin V. brought it back to the Vatican. The printed volumes amount to 400,000, the MSS. to 50,000: these are arranged in a gallery 214 feet long, and in other apartments magnificently decorated. They are divided into three parts, one of which is open to the public two days every week. The whole collection is in much disorder.

The Barberini library has 60,000 printed volumes, and several thousand MSS. The Colonna library is worthy of a notice on account of its 400 volumes of engravings of the fifteenth century. To the Library of the College of Rome have been added the books and the Museum of the celebrated Kircher. It is said that Clement VIII. enlarged this library, both in printed works and in MSS., assisted by Fulvius Ursinus; also that Paul V. enriched it with the MSS. of Cardinal Altieri and a part of the Palatine Library.

### *Spain.*

The most valuable library in Spain is that of the Escorial, which was founded by Charles V. and extended by Philip II. The decorations of this library are very beautiful. The entrance is exquisitely wrought; the pavement is of marble; the shelves, upon which the books are placed, are painted with every variety of color; the books themselves, superbly ornamented, are distributed in five rows of cases one above the other, and one hundred feet in length. This collection abounds in MSS.; it contains the original of Augustine's work on baptism. Some suppose that here are the originals of Augustine's entire works. These once belonged, it is said, to a king of Morocco, from whom they were taken by the Spaniards, with 4000 Arabic MSS.; they were subsequently sent to Paris, but, finding no purchaser, they were taken to Madrid and bought by Philip II. A part of this library was destroyed by lightning in 1670. It now contains 130,000 printed volumes, and 4,300 MSS. in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin.

The Royal Library of Madrid was founded by Philip V., in 1712, and enlarged by his successors. It has more than 200,000 printed volumes, besides many very valuable Arabic MSS. This library is open to the public every day of the week. The library of St. Isidore has 60,000 volumes, and is also open every day. Ferdinand Nonius, who is thought by some to have been the first teacher of Greek in Spain, formed an extensive and very curious library, which had many Greek MSS., purchased

in Italy at a high price. A native of Italy, he taught the languages at Alcala de Henarez, and afterwards at Salamanca, and to the University of the latter city he gave his valuable collection. Spain was also enriched by the noble library, which Cardinal Ximenes established at Alcala de Henarez, in connection with the University which has since been so celebrated. It is to him that we owe the Complutensian Polyglot, the first polyglot ever printed. It takes its designation from *Complutum*, the ancient name of Alcala. Other Spanish libraries might be mentioned: but we can barely allude to the old collection, which the Moors formed at Cordova, and which was attached to a famous school where all the sciences were taught in Arabic. It has been estimated at 250,000 volumes; but it was pillaged and scattered when the Spaniards became masters of the city.

#### *Portugal.*

The revival of literature in Portugal dates from the reign of Denis, the sixth king of the Portuguese monarchy. This prince, rising above the ignorance which prevailed throughout Europe, did every thing in his power to encourage poetry and belles lettres. It was at this time that Vasco de Lobeira lived, one of the reputed authors of the *Amadis de Gaul*. In later times, Portugal has produced some distinguished historians: in the sixteenth century, Pedro Nunez excelled in mathematics. But the glory of this country is Louis de Camoens. And yet its libraries are comparatively few and small. The only one which we notice is attached to the palace of the King at Lisbon. It was commenced in the fifteenth century by Alphonso V., and is now the repository of many valuable books.

#### *France.*

In France, exclusive of the department in which Paris is situated, there are 1,012 cities and villages, whose population exceeds 3,000. Of this number, 822 have no libraries. The remaining 190 have collections, the sum of which, in each place, ranges from a few scores of volumes to 115,000—the number at Bordeaux. Lyons has 110,000; Aix, 75,000; Colmar, 65,000; Strasburg, 56,000; Besançon, 56,000; Troyes, 50,000; Versailles, 45,000; Grenoble, 45,000. The whole number of volumes amounts to little more than 2,000,000—i. e. one volume to 15 souls. The public libraries of Paris contain 1,378,000 volumes. That of the Arsenal has 150,000 printed volumes, and 5000 MSS.; that of St. Geneviève, 120,000 printed volumes, and 2000 MSS.; that of the Institute, 60,000; that of the Chamber of Deputies, 40,000; the Mazarin Library, 100,000. But the largest and the most valuable library in France is the National Library, at Paris—formerly the King's Library. Its commencement is somewhat uncertain. It would seem to be indebted for its origin to Louis XI. It was greatly enlarged by Francis I.; such was his love of Greek literature that he directed his ambassadors at the



different courts of Europe to procure as many Greek MSS. as they could, and he sent three men to the Levant, on the same errand. They returned with 400 volumes. In 1661, this library had 16,746 volumes: in 1785, it numbered 200,000 printed volumes, 60,000 MSS., 5000 volumes of prints, and 2000 of engravings. The latest estimate assigns to it more than 400,000 printed volumes, 80,000 MSS., and 50,000 portraits. The MSS. illustrate every department of learning of every age and country. Among the curiosities in this collection, there is a written roll of papyrus, taken from the hands of a mummy in Egypt, and presented by Buonaparte. The library is open to the public, five hours every day. In the summer, two hundred persons are constantly engaged in exploring its treasures; in the winter, about fifty.

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## ARTICLE XI.

### CONDENSED REVIEWS:—REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

To embody and bring before our intelligent countrymen "the choicest topics" and discussions, which may be gathered from the periodical literature of foreign countries, we have said,\* is the leading design of our work. We have expressed the purpose, also, of making it, as far as practicable, an *Encyclopædia* of such literature. To accomplish both of these objects, it is necessary to examine, with care, a large number of the current publications in different languages. On a field so extensive there are many pieces which we are not to transfer to our pages. There are many others, portions of which are interesting and instructive, but which it would not comport with our design to select entire. That we may enrich our work with what is truly valuable in these articles, and at the same time keep the reader apprised of the leading discussions which are brought before the public mind of other nations, through their periodicals, we have concluded to devote a few pages, in each No. of the Eclectic, to what may be termed *Condensed Reviews*. These we shall accompany with brief notices, or analyses of the articles contained in the most important works from which our selections are made. This department of our labors will constitute a *Review of Reviews*, which we hope to make acceptable and profitable to our readers.

We begin with the English Quarterlies for January of the present year. Such as we have not room to review in the present No. will be taken up in our next, and such other periodicals as shall be deemed worthy, whether in the English or other languages, will be noticed, in a similar manner, in subsequent Nos. of our work.—SR. ED.

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\* See Introduction, No. I. p. 2.

## THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. LII., JANUARY, 1841.

ART. I. This No. of the *Foreign Quarterly* begins with a review of five volumes of Memoirs and Miscellanies entitled *Denkwürdigkeiten und vermischte Schriften*, by K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, recently published in Germany. It fills about 25 pages, and is especially valuable for its remarks on the characteristics of German memoirs generally.

"The Germans, who write every thing, cannot write memoirs. Let them not be ashamed. *Non omnia possumus omnes*. Neither let them despair."

Time and favoring circumstances, with a succession of reasonable efforts, may yet succeed in breaking up the formality and systematic stiffness of German compositions, and in imparting to them that nimbleness of wit and brilliancy of idea, which are among the highest graces of descriptive writing. But under the restraints of the press which now exist, there is little to favor these developments of genius.

There is a CENSORSHIP in Germany; and it appears true, beyond the reach of exception, that a good literature of public memoirs never can flourish under that fatal restriction.

No one can have entered into the historical and biographical literature of Germany with any small spirit of discrimination, without having had frequent occasion to make this remark. It is not that this or the other instance of reticency or false delicacy requires to be pointed out by a minute and curious criticism of detail, but there is a general tone in the whole handling which strikes the free Briton instinctively as something strange. The political institutions of Germany bear the same relation to those of England that Popery does to Protestantism; and the political literature of the two countries is necessarily affected in the same way by the civil institutions as the theological literature of the two religions is by the ecclesiastical. There is in despotic countries a sacredness felt to surround the characters of kings and officers of state, similar to that which separates the ecclesiastic from the layman in countries where Popery is the predominant religion; and this feeling in either case produces the same result; viz., even when there is no formal censorship, a virtual extinction of all freedom of individual remark on the character of persons who are the objects of unconditioned public reverence.

Von Ense's memoirs have been much praised—not a little overpraised, we think, in Germany. But there are reasons for this. In the first place, the Germans, though the most systematic book-makers in Europe, know nothing, properly speaking, of style. As a nation they cannot write. They roll on their heavy carriages of heaped erudition, their ponderous gasometers of a flatulent philosophy, like the lumbering motion of some half-created antediluvian magalotherion, through bogs and sea-marshes portentous. Of this they have become of late sensible; and though they will not allow, perhaps, when the question is bluntly put, that as a nation they are most clumsy handlers of their own proper

instrument and "national symbol" (as Menzel will have it) the GOOSE-QUILL, yet they betray their secret consciousness of the weak point, by the multitudinous cackling instantly raised round this or that singular individual, whom nature or art may have gifted with the rare talent of saying what he means to say clearly and naturally, without embarrassment. So it has happened with Varnhagen. He can write smoothly and prettily, and intelligibly; he has studied the craft of turning sentences; and straightway with our honest Teutonic critics, there is no end to the noise of general wonderment and laudation. "*Dieser SCHÖNE Styl! dieser VORTREFFLICHE Styl!! diese Klarheit und Reinheit! diese ruhige Würde! diese edle Einfachkeit, die nicht nur an Goethe stets lebhaftig erinnert, sondern Goethe selber lebhaftig ist!*"—and so forth, in a strain that, in England, would appear ludicrous, and even childish. In the second place, Varnhagen is, and has for a long train of years been in close connection with the periodical press, and has proved himself a most active and intelligent member of the noble brotherhood of reviewers in Germany. The literary productions of men so situated, are generally, and in the nature of things must be, apt to be over-praised in all countries.

We have only one other remark of a preliminary kind to make. We have now before us five considerable volumes, not of *Denkwürdigkeiten* only, but of *Denkwürdigkeiten*, and *vermischte Schriften*—"Memoirs and Miscellaneous Works." What are these miscellaneous works? The veriest imposition upon the credulity of an unsuspecting public, that we have seen for some time—a very prime specimen of the grand modern art of book-making. One half, or one third of a volume contains the proper memoirs—the bait by which the public is caught. The rest is a mere bundling together of loose ephemeral criticisms, that if Scott or Coleridge had written them, might have merited posthumous publication in a separate work; but in their present connection can only be regarded either as a piece of most egregious vanity on the part of the writer, or as a vulgar trick of the trade, to swell three volumes into five, and make every dollar count two. We should not have made this observation on Varnhagen's account, had he been a sole offender; but it is a national sin of the German people; they print all that they scribble; they scribble all that should have been riddled out of the brain with shame, instead of being hashed up into a dessert with much pretence: and in that broad brown bowl of beggars' soup—thin and yet muddy—for which you have paid three Prussian dollars currency (a genuine English gull), the Christian student is very lavish of vision who will be eager to search out the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, of German wit and German intellect, which inhabit there.

Having administered the above pointed and uncompromising rebuke to German writers, of the justice of which those, who are at home in German literature, will judge, the reviewer proceeds with a rapid analysis of Varnhagen's works, and commends the writer, "bating the weak points," already referred to, as "no vulgar artist." These volumes, it

appears, contain a great variety of information. By those who can read them in the original, and by all who are conversant with the early history of the French revolution, the memoirs of Lafayette and the works of Madame de Staël, and who take even a common interest in the great events by which the present busy century was ushered into existence, the works of our author cannot be regarded with indifference. Most of our readers, however, must wait till they shall appear in an English dress.

The second article is that on the *History and Literature of the Cossacks*, which we have selected entire for the present No. of our work, Article IX. p. 332.

ART. III. This is an article of 22 pages, on the advantages of *Copyright in Italy*. It is written by one well acquainted with his subject, and brings to light some interesting facts in respect to the literary history of that ill-fated country. Hitherto the most vexatious restraints have been placed upon the press in Italy. Works of genius, and literary journals have been successively suppressed; and such as have been allowed to continue, have been conducted with that timidity and narrow-mindedness, which could alone secure their existence. No centre or concentration of literary influences has been allowed. Every town or province has been kept in ignorance of the progress of its immediate neighbors. All efforts, therefore, to establish an Italian periodical bibliography, such as exist in England and France, have been without effect. It has been impossible, however, by these restraints wholly to suppress the genius of the country. The works proscribed by the government, like all other forbidden fruits, are the objects of a peculiar relish, and the authors who have been able to rise above these impediments, and command notoriety, have been hailed as heroes and martyrs, and their works have been received as oracles. Thus the very obstacles thrown in the way of literary publications have in some measure frustrated the intentions of those who have created them; and have actually given rise to influences which are destined effectually to resist and break down the oppressive power of the government.

A better state of things begins to be realized in Italy. A literary alliance has been recently formed between the most eminent scholars of the different provinces of that country and the neighboring states, and in answer to their earnest solicitations, the Lombardo-Venetian government has granted to authors and inventors the privilege of copyright. In addition to this, the yearly meetings of Italian scholars, which were commenced at Pisa in 1839, indicate the beginning of better feeling on the part of the Sardinian and Austrian rulers, or, at least, that they despair of being able any longer to prevent their subjects from uniting to aid and encourage each other in the promotion of the public welfare and the diffusion of the means of intellectual culture. The most enlightened of the Italians seem, after so long a lesson of hard-won experience, to be finally convinced that the calamities of foreign vassalage, as well as their state of social and moral degeneracy, are to be principally ascribed to that fatal spirit of division which they in-



herited from the municipal dissensions and jealousies of their forefathers, in the middle ages, and which the usurpers of their republican liberties never afterwards ceased to foment. The people of the different provinces have so long been estranged from each other, the name of their country has so long been buried in oblivion, their local interests have been so artfully directed into different and opposite channels, that their ideas of patriotism have become vague and undetermined; the natural boundaries of the country seem to shift from one district to another, so as to induce the traveller to conclude that, geographically as well as politically, *there is no Italy*. But the annual meeting of scientific men at one of the Universities must have a most salutary effect on the progress of science.

The privilege of copyright, which, after the example set by the master of masters—the Lombardo-Venetian government—must eventually triumph over the scruples of his Holiness, and of every other opponent, is to be the soul of every literary enterprise. It will bring the interests of the different petty literary centres of Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Parma, &c., to a common understanding, secure the free circulation, at least, of all the works published in the country, whilst the increase of daily, weekly and monthly periodicals will hasten and extend their diffusion and lay the basis of a universal Italian bibliography. By the combined influence of all these agents, science and literature will be brought to such a state of concord and unity as now exists in Germany—that country, which, in its political condition, Italy most closely resembles. Deprived of the dignity and privilege, and equally free from the cares and burdens of the so envied and so dearly paid for political existence of France and England, the minor states of Italy and Germany have leisure to turn their active and enterprising minds to the happier pursuits of letters, science and art. Nor do we believe that the creative powers of that southern land of genius would be yet so utterly exhausted, as to yield without a struggle the supremacy of literature to her transalpine neighbor, but for that ungenerous system of constraint, division and suspicion by which the Italian governments have hitherto endeavored to stand forth as the champions of ignorance, and which, in presence of the broad day-light glaring over the meridian of Europe, seems now happily forced to give way.

ART. IV. The history of the art of engraving, ancient and modern, is the subject of this article. It is derived from several French and German works, whose titles are given, and is extended to 25 pages. This, however, is but the beginning of the reviewer's discussion, who promises to follow it with another article on the same subject, in the next No. of the *Foreign Quarterly*. It may be read with profit by scholars and artists, but to most of our readers would be uninteresting. It is too full of dry detail to admit of a useful condensation.

ART. V. This is a highly interesting review of *Dr. Karl Gustavus Fiedler's Journey through every part of the kingdom of Greece, by commis-*

sion of the government of that country, in the years 1834 to 1837. As we hope to publish this review entire, in the next No. of the Eclectic, we omit any further notice of it here.

ART. VI. *Südöstlicher Bildersaal. I.—Der Vergnügling. Herausgegeben vom Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen.* (The South-Eastern Picture Gallery. Vol. I.—The Voluptuary. By the author of Letters from one Deceased.) Stuttgart, 1840.

The volume here reviewed is the work of Prince Puckler-Muskau, who, our reviewer says, "is never a dull writer, and often an amusing one."

The present is the first volume of a series that may run to an almost indefinite length. The title implies that we shall have to accompany the author on his wanderings through the Levant to Upper Egypt, and thence to return with him and his Abyssinian protégé through Syria, Asia Minor, and Turkey. When we consider that his first instalment of pictures has brought us only to Malta, it would be somewhat rash to estimate the length to which it may please him to stretch out his gallery.

The book before us is an odd book. It is not *all* fiction; but much of it is avowedly the offspring of the author's imagination, more is evidently mere mystification, and a large portion of what remains may safely be set down as apocryphal; yet all this fanciful embroidery is worked into a plain canvass of reality, and that with so much art, that the uninitiated reader is frequently at a loss to know whether this or that thread belongs to the original groundwork, or to the gay decorations that have been insinuated into the fabric.

The work professes to relate occurrences in the author's life. We have not, indeed, a consecutive narrative of his peregrinations, and many of the occurrences related are so evidently mere fiction, that we hardly know where to draw the line between what is to be received as true, and what is at once to be deemed romance. Such a plan is more convenient to the author than to his reader, and in the end as likely to be detrimental to the fame of the former, as to the satisfaction of the latter.

Our reviewer censures the title of the book, the *Picture-Gallery*, as an ill-chosen representation of so confused a grouping of incongruous images and imaginations as the plan proposes. *Der Vergnügling* too "is a word of the Prince's own coining, and which we feel is but poorly rendered by the English word *voluptuary*." But enough is already apparent, from the few remarks extracted above, to enable the reader to judge that it would be hardly worth while for us to lead him through 20 pages more of this miscellaneous and fanciful rambling.

ART. VII.—1. *Acts of the Governor and Council of Liberia.* 1839. 2. *Liberia Herald. Volume IX.* Monrovia, West Africa, 1840. 3. *Life of Jehudi Ashmun.* By Ralph Randolph Gurley. Washington. 8vo. 1835. 4. *Speeches concerning Liberia, at the Anti-Slavery Convention.*

Anti-Slavery Reporter, London, July 15, August 12, and September 9, 1840; and *Clarkson's Letter*, ib. 23 Sept.

The works here enumerated stand at the head of an article of fourteen pages, in which the writer compares the results of the settlements at Sierra Leone and Liberia, much to the credit of the latter; expresses his own opinions in favor of the abolition of slavery throughout the world, and of "*black and white political amalgamation*, as well as political equality." Most of the article, however, is occupied with a running account of the character and proceedings of Ashmun, while Governor of Liberia, derived from his *Life* by Mr. Gurley, in which he gives him deserved praise. But in all of this there is nothing new to American readers.

ART. VIII. *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates, hergestellt und erläutert.* (Archives of the Athenian Navy, restored and illustrated. By August Böckh.) Berlin, 1840.

The occasion of the work here named will be contemplated with the highest interest by all, and, by scholars and antiquarians, the work itself will be sought for and read with enthusiasm. The article from which we select the following remarks covers twenty-seven pages, and for the sake of our classical readers, we regret that we have not room to give it entire. Others, however, would be wearied by its protracted details, and lost in the depth of its learning. We must content ourselves, therefore, with selecting only such portions of it as are sufficient to introduce the reader to the occasion, subject and general contents of the work, and to indicate its immense value to the classical scholar.

The following are the details of the singular discovery at Athens, to which the present work owes its origin. In October, 1834, the foundations of the first royal magazine were laid in the Piræus, on a point of land running into the basin on the south side of the harbor. The workmen, in the course of their excavations, came upon a series of bases to columns, at a depth of about two feet from the surface. The architect, Herr Laders, of Leipzig, immediately formed sketches of them, and the government directed that the works should be immediately discontinued if these antiques were found to be valuable. Herr Ludwig Ross, Professor of the University of Athens, who has the charge of inspecting all newly discovered monuments, and to whom we are indebted for numerous others besides the present, immediately proceeded to the spot, and found four roughly worked pedestals of columns 0.70 metres in diameter, and about 2.60 distant from each other, formed of sandstone, inserted in a foundation work of the same material, the line of the series running from south to north. Near the second and fourth, there stood to the east two blocks of a bluish white marble, hollowed like water troughs, and a groove or gutter, formed of flat plates of blue colored marble. These plates, which reached from one extremity to the other, were fortunately, on the arrival

of the Professor, only disturbed in one instance, in which the workmen had broken the slab into more than twenty pieces. Herr Ross found its lower surface covered with an inscription, for the most part defaced, but in which he easily recognized an account of the persons employed in the arsenal. He caused all the remaining plates, three in number, of which two had suffered by previous ill usage at a remoter period, to be carefully taken up, and on inspection found them to contain similar inscriptions. This discovery led him to the conclusion, as he himself informs us, that the edifice in question belonged to a late Roman or Byzantine period, when the memory of the ancient greatness of Athens and regard for antiquity had sunk so low, as to induce them to convert these precious remains to the simple purposes of modern construction. Having arranged with Herr Laders for the discontinuance of the proposed magazine on this site, Herr Ross proceeded during the winter of 1834-5, to copy the inscriptions, but from press of business this work proceeded but slowly. The exigences of government requiring the excavation of some ground to the east of the column enumerated, it was then discovered that they formed part of a quadrangle, along the inner side of which ran the water conduit, formed of plates inscribed and of large urns of marble.

On the news of this discovery, Herr Ritter von Prokosch Oster (whose awful name we shall not abuse from his zeal for antiquities) offered to accompany Herr Ross, and the two savans proceeded to the Piræus, and were rewarded for their pains by returning with four mules laden with inscriptions. Herr Ross conjectures the Skeuothek of Philo (for an account of which we refer our readers to Vitruvius, who says, p. 7. Præf. s. 12, "Philo scripsit de ædium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario quod fecerat Piræi in portu." Sillig also contains a short notice of him) stood near this spot. And to the question of what has become of this immense structure, Herr Ross replies demanding why we trace such slight remains of the once mighty mass of the Piræus itself. Had the Vandal Byzantines, who appropriated the inscriptions in question to these base uses, gone one step further, and not placed them with their faces to the earth, not a vestige would have been preserved; but fortunately, as if to shun the reproaches of the writing, they kept the engraved side downwards. The inscriptions on all the tablets were transmitted by Herr Ross to Böckh in 1836, and consigned to his editorial management, every part being carefully copied by the learned Professor for this object; of these we have with the present volume a series of plates, containing all dug up on the same spot, except Nos. 3 and 18, which differ from the rest, in being of Pentelican marble. No. 3 was found in Athens itself, near the castle probably; No. 18 was dug out from the castle in June, 1837. The Academy of Sciences immediately offered Böckh their assistance in editing the inscriptions. Other occupations delayed the publication on his part until the present year, but at last they have seen the light in one consecutive series, absolutely necessary from their close connection with each other, with notes, restorations, corrections and emendations by their learned editor. Our readers must be prepared, in the investigation of the inscriptions, to find that they have not been printed entire: this, from the



size of the tablets, was impossible in ordinary compass; but if they wish to see the form of the entire slab, they must fit the leaves under each other. In the second part of the book they will find the inscriptions with the editor's corrections and restorations. The editor has also been careful to make them as far as possible illustrative of each other.

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The distinguished scholar, whose work is now before us, enjoys almost the exclusive privilege of that deep intuition into antiquity, that flings the past a living present before the sight. In his former productions he has made use of many a deeply hived store of research, and to confer on him the title of the *Attic Bee*, were scarcely sufficiently descriptive of his merits, since he draws not from living sources of exquisite flavor, but, like Horace, from such only as have in them the mellowness of antiquity "interiore nota." With him the violet crowned city rises in all her ancient life, the deep lines of her philosophers, the rapt poetry of her bards, the fine policy of her institutes, the interior constitution of her republic, her orators, her generals, her courts, tribunals, navy, navy-boards, dock-yards, arsenals, stores, ships with their tackling and gear, all are presented to the view with such a fidelity of vision, that we are compelled to own that even modern Athens, with all the accurate description of Dr. Fiedler, is scarce clearer conveyed to the view by the distinguished and observant tourist, than the ancient city is delineated by Bockh. The present work needed such a scholar to illustrate it, and though it may not attain large circulation or high popularity, from which it is excluded by its very nature, still will it remain the text-book of the scholar, and be added to Fynes Clinton, Thirlwall, Müller, Wacksmuth, and the host of worthies who have illustrated the several points of that city, which must ever maintain a dominant interest among mankind for that intellectual glory, the imperishable possession, which no change of circumstances can ever alienate from her, or lost and sunken Italy. We are free to confess, that although the pure Attic literature has engaged our attention from earliest youth with undivided interest, that we are now illuminated on many an ancient question, not more by the singularly discovered fragments, to which the present work owes its origin, than by the perfect force of illustration on the part of the reader of these ancient documents, and which appear to have awaited the arrival of a genius adequate to their discussion and interpretation, and in the very period in which such an individual was flourishing to have been disinhumed from their grave of ages.

ART. IX. This is an article of thirty pages on the successive alliances between England and France, since the accession of Louis Phillipe to the throne. It is written with clearness and as much candor as could be expected in a special pleader for his own country. Its object is to explain and justify the recent alliance of England with the other European powers, which has so successfully resulted in settling the hostilities between Mehemet Ali and the Turkish empire, and to show that France has no just ground of complaint.—SR. ED.

## THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, NO. LXVIII., JANUARY, 1841.

ART. I. The design of this article is to show, that the Privilege of Counsel in defending the accused, as commonly interpreted in England, is a hinderance to justice. In the corrected report of Lord Brougham's Speech on the Trial of the Queen, we have the following bold positions:

I once before took leave to remind your Lordships, which was unnecessary, but there are many whom it may be needful to remind, that an advocate, by the sacred duty of his connexion with his client, knows in the discharge of that office, but one person in the world—that client, and none other. To serve that client by all expedient means, to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and amongst others to himself, is the highest and most unquestioned of his duties. He must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction, which he may bring upon any others. Nay, separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, he must go on, reckless of consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion, for his client.

This language is condemned by the reviewer, but with a severity that is altogether too cautious and measured. The advocate, who squares his conduct by such principles, forgets that he is a minister of Justice, invested with the responsibilities of an official oath. The attention of the public has been recently drawn to the privilege of the advocate, in criminal cases, by the trial of Courvoisier. "Twenty-four hours before the defence was made, Mr. Phillips, the prisoner's counsel, had received the confession of the prisoner's guilt." "It is stated, that before he made his defence, he privately communicated the fact of the confession to the judge, and obtained his sanction to the doctrine, that he must 'do his best' for the prisoner."

The reviewer complains that he *did his best*, by resorting to measures which were entirely unjustifiable. In this opinion the reviewer was not alone. Petitions were addressed to Parliament, setting forth the evils resulting from the license of counsel, as now understood. The Bishop of London, when presenting one of these petitions, challenged the conformity of the practice with Christian precepts. The most prominent topic of animadversion is the treatment of witnesses. Such is the reluctance of diffident and sensitive minds to encounter the cross-examination, that the administration of justice is impeded. The petitions to Parliament directly and positively affirm this to be the fact.

The subject discussed in this article, is one of great importance; but we are constrained to say that the reviewer has not done it justice. His remarks, though correct in their general aim, are ill-digested and unsatisfactory. But a defective plan is not his only, nor, indeed, his principal fault. He has failed entirely to grapple the main question. The *ethics* of criminal defence, not to say of all legal practice, he does not touch. The rules by which an honest and an honorable advocate should regulate

his conduct, he does not profess to discuss. He strikes a well-meant blow at one or two abuses, and then considers his work as done. We regret this the more, from having long felt the importance of a thorough examination of this whole subject. We honor the law as a science; for it embodies the collected wisdom of ages, and breathes the free, generous, Anglo-Saxon spirit. We honor its faithful ministers; for they are the defenders of our property, our good name, our liberty, our lives. Still we must be permitted to say, that we believe—we *know* that the ethics of the *practice* are frequently at variance with sound morality.

ART. II. This article is on *Woman and her Social Position*. The writer is "fully persuaded that the progress of civilization will discover, nay, has discovered many faults and defects in the laws which concern women." "How" their causes of complaint "are to be redressed is another question. Eventually, we think, this must become the business of the legislature; and the redress of female grievances must proceed on the same grounds of a more impartial justice for all, which have brought about every other reform." He takes the ground that as individuals—not as a class—they should have the right of suffrage and "a voice in the legislature." "Ever since the Reform Bill—that era of better hope—it has appeared to us a needless, if not prejudicial inequality, to exclude women altogether from representation." He quotes with approbation the language of Mr. Baillie, who says that "no evil could have arisen from placing men and women on such an equality in regard to the franchise as the present system of law would admit. Wives, and sisters, and daughters, living under the same roof with their husbands, and fathers, and brothers, would have been excluded, not on the ground of sex, but on account of not being householders." "It would have been only widows or single women, keeping house or possessing the requisite amount of property, that could have been entitled to vote." The argument in defence of this position, though dispassionate in its tone, is illogical and inconclusive.

ART. III. In this article of 36 pages, the different plans which were submitted for the New Royal Exchange are considered, together with the decision of the Common Council thereon. The proceedings of this body, and the doings of the committees of adjudication are discussed at length, with a very liberal allowance of censure. The merits of the plan which was adopted, are particularly examined, in connection with two others that were unsuccessful. The article is accompanied with several engravings.

ART. IV. This is a discussion of considerable ability on the *Currency and Banking*, and occupies 40 pages. A number of reports, speeches, etc. on this inexhaustible subject, are placed at the head of the article, which, with the plans they propose, are successively canvassed. The reviewer

begins by raising five distinct inquiries, which involve the principles advanced in these different plans. These inquiries, with the substance of the answers, as exhibiting the opinions of the writer, we here present—

I. What effect is produced on the *prices of commodities* by fluctuations in the currency? An abundance of money, he replies, has a tendency to increase the price; but if the quantity of commodities advances with an equal ratio, there will be no alteration.

II. In what way does an extension or contraction of the currency operate upon *foreign exchanges*?

1. An increase of the currency, as it tends to advance the prices of commodities, will check exportation, and encourage importation, and thus bring the balance of trade against us. 2. It will lower the rate of interest, and thus cause a transfer of capital for investment in foreign securities. This power of influencing exchanges, the reviewer thinks, ought not to be exercised in ordinary cases.

III. What effect is produced on the currency by the substitution of paper money? Mr. Loyd, on his examination, had said, that “paper currency should be made to conform to what a metallic currency would be, and, especially, it should be kept of the same value with the metallic currency, by being kept at all times of the same amount. Now the influx and efflux of gold are the only sure test of what would have been the variations of a metallic currency, and, therefore, I conceive that that constitutes the only proper rule by which to regulate the fluctuations of a paper currency.” The reviewer replies,

1. If the bank notes of England—£40,000,000—were excluded from circulation, their place would not be supplied by an equal amount of gold. 2. A purely metallic circulation would not always vary in amount, according to the fluctuations of foreign exchange. 3. If it would do so, it would be unwise to make the paper currency follow these fluctuations.

IV. Ought deposits in the Bank of England to be regarded as money? This question gives rise to the following inquiries and answers: 1. Do deposits perform the functions of currency, and to what extent? They perform these functions to the extent to which they are transferred. 2. Is there any difference between deposits in the Bank of England, and those in other banks? None. 3. Is the rise or fall of the deposits any criterion, by which to judge of the increased or diminished issues of the Bank? An increase or diminution of deposits, *ceteris paribus*, shows an increase or diminution of issues. 4. Ought the Bank of England to use her deposits? Yes, provided the *demand* is made by the public; but the Bank should not anticipate this demand. 5. What effect have the deposits in the Bank of England on the prices of commodities? Deposits, increased by the overflowing of the circulation, tend to advance the price.

V. Ought bills of exchange to be regarded as currency? They perform the functions of currency, as in the case of deposits, to the extent of the transfers.

ART. V. This article is upon *Emigration, and the Comparative Prospects of the British Colonies*. It is written for the benefit of those who have determined to remove from the mother country to one of her colonies. Having settled this preliminary question, the future emigrant



is met by another of equal importance, and greater difficulty:—to which of these colonies shall he go? The British possessions extend from the tropics to the poles; and on them, it is said, the sun never goes down. They present to the adventurer every variety of soil, climate and production, and, we may add, every stage of intellectual and moral advancement. To assist the emigrant in resolving this second inquiry, the reviewer first glances at the different considerations which ought to influence his decision. He next proceeds to examine the comparative advantages of the colonies, dividing them into two groups,—the British North American colonies and the Australian colonies. The first of these groups receives but a cursory notice from the reviewer; but the condition and prospects of the second,—comprising New South Wales, Australia Felix or Port Philip, South Australia, Western Australia, Van Dieman's Land, and New Zealand,—are discussed at considerable length. The rising importance of these distant possessions of the British crown has recently created quite a lively interest in the mother country, and occasioned several very able discussions in the leading periodicals. It is our design—perhaps in our next number—to give a condensed view of this subject; and for this purpose we shall use the best materials which the foreign journals afford. We pass the article before us, therefore, without further remark.

ART. VI. This article, on the *Anglo-Turkish War*, is a very caustic and unsparing review of the Eastern Policy of the allied powers. The reviewer first recurs to the condition of Syria under the Turkish sway, and to that series of events which issued in the convention of Kutayah, dated May, 1833. This convention secured to Mohammed Ali the pachalics of all Syria, and the fiscal administration of Adana; and was brought about by the intervention of the Ambassadors of the European powers. Mohammed Ali, the reviewer claims, has done nothing to forfeit the rights which he derived from that treaty, and hence, these powers are bound, in honor as well as sound policy, to see that its stipulations are fulfilled. The consequences which are to flow from the new policy are strongly depicted; but some of them are clearly exaggerated. Indeed, the whole discussion is one-sided and partial. The conclusion of the article groups together the manifold evils of the Anglo-Turkish war, as they present themselves to the reviewer's mind, and is as follows:

We are now told that the war is at an end; that Mehemet Ali has submitted; that our arms have been victorious, and our policy successful. If it be so, let us look at the laurels we have won—at the harvest we are about to reap. We have bombarded Syrian towns; we have killed Syrians and Egyptians by thousands; we have armed marauding bandit chiefs, and have delivered over vast districts to misrule and anarchy. We have established Turkish sway among the Christians of the Holy Land, and indulge the chimerical hope that the old Ottoman tyrants will cease to tyrannize. We have armed the mountaineers with weapons which they will undoubtedly turn against the intruders, whom we call their legitimate masters. In Egypt we have perilled our com-

munications with India, and have done our best to make the ruler, on whom those communications depend (once our cordial friend), our bitter enemy. We have shaken to its very basis—we have done our best to undermine and destroy the most energetic, the most organized, the most hopeful of Oriental governments: the only government indeed which had vigor in vitality. We have roused in France the indignation of a whole people for holding their friendship at so mean a price—for breaking up our alliance on so miserable a pretext. Appearing to check we have in reality furthered the policy of Russia, who sees in the alienation of France and England the means of best advancing her own selfish ends. We have stopped short of a general war, but have opened the Pandora's box of all those passions which are the parents of the pabulum of war, and which, represented by "an armed peace," keep war still menacing our portals. A million of men have been called from their quiet pursuits of trade and husbandry to shoulder the musket and to draw the sword. Thirty millions of pounds sterling, upon the most moderate calculation, are to be extorted from the abject and suffering abroad and at home, to defray the costs of the armament we have occasioned, to rebuild the towns we have destroyed;—the penalty of nations for the freaks of the thoughtless and ruling few. We have exhausted Egypt—we have desolated Syria—we have disturbed Europe! If this be success, what, we ask, is failure?—J.R. ED.

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THE BRITISH CRITIC AND QUARTERLY THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, LONDON,  
JANUARY, 1841.

This Quarterly is the acknowledged organ of the "Oxford Divines," the authors of the "*Tracts for the Times*," which have appeared in succession in England, for a few years past, and most of which have been republished in this country. They maintain the unbroken Apostolical succession in the Catholic church, deny the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and inculcate the doctrine of implicit obedience to the authority of the church; they embrace Catholic tradition in their rule of faith, and maintain positions on several points, which their opponents regard as leaning towards Romanism.\* The *British Critic* is the zealous advocate of these high-church peculiarities. It introduces them, directly or indirectly, into almost every discussion. The work, however, is conducted with distinguished ability, and contains some articles of great value, of which we shall freely avail ourselves, in our selections. The topics discussed in the No. for January, we proceed to enumerate.

ART. I. *Christian Morals: by Rev. William Sewell, Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, &c. &c.* London, 1840.

This is an article of forty-three pages, and is the continuation of a discussion commenced in the July number (1840) of the same work, in a

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\* Some judicious remarks on the peculiarities of these views and their origin are contained in the *Am. Bib. Repository*, July, 1840 and January, 1841, *Arts. Religious and Ecclesiastical Condition of England*.

review of the "*Works of Jeremy Bentham* : now first collected under the superintendence of his executor, John Bowring,—in 30 vols. 8vo, 1840." The whole discussion, of nearly *ninety* pages, is an able and adroit refutation of the doctrines of Bentham, which the reviewer denominates the *Utilitarian Moral Philosophy*.

To do any thing like justice to the argument of these articles, in the brief space we have to spare to it, is impossible. We may, however, in few words, present the leading point of the controversy, and thus apprise our readers of the bearings of a discussion, which appears to be exciting no little interest among the philosophical writers of England.

The Moral Philosophy of Bentham, according to the showing of this reviewer, rejects the whole system of morals which is founded on the assumption of a *conscience* in man, and maintains "that the only possible motives to human action are the hope of pleasure and the fear of pain; and the only possible means of determining what is right action is to examine what will produce the greatest sum of pleasure to the party whose interest is in question; and that any other meaning of right is no meaning at all." In opposition to this our reviewer maintains that any man, on fairly examining his own heart, may ascertain positively that he has the powers, and may perceive, as self-evident, the truths which Bentham's system denies;—that he may assure himself that he is not unable to act for the benefit of others, even though it be clear that by such action he would certainly prejudice his own happiness; and that he may also perceive that in many cases of conflict between these two motives, it is not a matter of indifference which course he may adopt, but that the side of self-sacrifice, "real uncompensated self-sacrifice may truly, and with meaning, be called the more right, noble, or admirable alternative."

ART. II. *A letter to the Rt. Rev. Fathers in God, the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury, and through them to their Clergy, on the present state of Religious Societies, and the mode of obtaining contributions in aid of Christian objects* : by Arthur H. D. Acland, Esq. London, 1840.

We have read this article with interest, first, because it rebukes with deserved severity the worldliness of some of the charitable associations in England, and, secondly, because it brings, incidentally to view, some of the Romish tendencies of the Oxford doctrines, which we are glad to lay before our readers. The title of the article is *Ancient and Modern Ways of Charity*. It begins with an outburst against the modern abuse of "that good old word, charity," in application to "charity bazaars, charity concerts, charity balls!" The writer then introduces the poor of England, and says: "The battle of the poor is left to be fought by parties wide as the poles asunder."—"These are the Catholic church on the one side and the extreme levellers on the other." And these parties he maintains have more sympathy with each other than either of them has with a third party of moderate men, whom he charges with having no consistent system of charity.

The church and the irreligious leveller agree in *caring* for the poor; but they differ especially in this, that, while the latter would destroy all distinctions, and would reduce the rich to an equality with the poor, by stripping him of his house and his park, the former would leave him in the undisturbed possession of his secular wealth and equipage, but would destroy the "aristocratic trappings" of his pew in the house of God, and *there* reduce him to a level with the poor. Pages are occupied in making plausible this far-fetched distinction.

The writer then announces the doctrine, which is not new,—indeed, it is as old as the Romish hierarchy, and has even been advocated by some Presbyterians in our own country,—that "*the Church is the authorized recipient and dispenser of all Christian liberality.*"

Such as was our Lord when on earth, such, since he has been withdrawn from it, has been his holy church; the pledge of his presence, and depository of his gifts in relation, as to others, so especially to the poor. The function of mercy cannot be named nor imagined—of mercy, whether towards the bodies or the souls of the poor—which the church Catholic has not, from first to last, through evil report and good report, through the mists which clouded her meridian brightness, as well as in the clearness of her early dawn, recognized and discharged. In the fourth century as in the first, and in the twelfth as in the fourth; in the days of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, as of St. Paul and St. Barnabas; and of Pope Gregory the VIlth and St. Thomas of Canterbury, as of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose; she was still and alike the church of the poor. How she was such in the days of the Apostles, needs not here to be proved. And, as time went on, and her divine visible system, which at first existed but in germ, was more and more unfolded and displayed, her concern for the poor of Christ became more and more apparent.

Protestant readers will hardly be able to distinguish this from Romanism. In the progress of the argument, however, we find some valuable remarks on the necessity of *Christian* charity, in the deficiency of that of the world. "So far as the poor have any reception, recognition, consideration, sympathy among us, these blessings come to them, mediately or immediately, from the church. From the aristocracy, *as such*, they have comparatively but little commiseration; from the farmer, still less; from the manufacturers, less and less." But how is the church to become "the recipient and dispenser of all Christian liberality?" "All alms," says our reviewer, "should be lodged with the church, consecrated on the altar, and distributed by the clergy." Again he says: "Christian almsgiving involves *faith*. Persons used to make their offering at the altar, and then go their ways, feeling that what they had given was in God's hands. Now they linger and look about them; they are loth to retire, till they have some guarantee for the satisfactory application of their gift. This last is one of the most remarkable and unfavorable, though not one of the most obvious characteristics of modern almsgiving." Thus it is that these writers confound faith in God, with faith in the mere organs of their charities. So, in the worst days of Rome, they were required to



"give to the church," as Mr. Acland recommends in the address here reviewed, "*without considering themselves entitled to question how their funds were applied.*"

But we have not done with the church, as the dispenser of *all* Christian liberality. "Are we not correct," says our reviewer, "in supposing, that by the statutes of St. Paul's, the Bishop of London is, or was, required to dispense the alms of the faithful, offered at the Cathedral on the great festivals? Only imagine, (it is pleasant now and then, to turn from gloomy realities to beautiful pictures,) only imagine the rich merchants of the city offering their hundreds at the altar of St. Paul's, to be distributed at the discretion of a Bishop, as alive, say, to the 'spiritual destitution of the metropolis,' as the energetic and high-hearted prelate, who now fills the throne of London! How far better this than endowments tainted with the sin of sacrilege, or grants clogged with the restraints of stipulation."

We now quote the words of Mr. Acland, in the address referred to, as presented in this review, capitals and all.

Abstain from mere voluntary and self-originated objects as tending to division . . . . . be led to consider the means as well as the ends; recollecting that, while we each labor as individuals for the salvation of our own souls, we have also a sacred trust as members of the Universal Church; acting in all collective matters with reference to *past and future* ages and generations; and believing that as the blessings and grace of God are conveyed through appointed channels, so, if we would reap the promised reward of Christian labors, we must bear in mind that "THE CHURCH IS THE APPOINTED CHANNEL OF PUBLIC CHRISTIAN CHARITY. OUR ALMS AND OBLATIONS BELONG TO THE CHURCH, AND ARE THROUGH THE CHURCH TO BE OFFERED TO GOD."

According to this *beau ideal*, then, of the "Oxford Divines," the church is the only authorized recipient and dispenser of Christian liberality, and the bishop is to sit upon the throne of the church, and act *for* the church under this immense responsibility;—and contributors "*are not entitled to question*" how their funds have been or may be applied! All individual responsibility must be lost and merged in that of the church. The Protestant world has not so learned Christ. But is not the Church of England Protestant? These writers seem cautious in admitting it, and would have it retain many, if not all, of the peculiarities against which Protestantism is arrayed. Speaking of the Christian church, "such as a church should be," our reviewer describes it thus: "The spacious area, the graceful arches and vaulted roof; the storied walls and pictured windows: the retired sanctuary and massive altar; the cross, that stern and sweet remembrancer, here and there; the deep unearthly stillness," etc. Again, he says: "In ancient times, before the church was first corrupted, and then practised upon, the English were just as good Catholics as any of their neighbors." And, speaking of the modern modes of charity, he uses the following language: "And yet, as we have said, each feature of the ancient beneficent and eleemosynary system has its modern counter-

part—we had almost written counterfeit. We have societies for fraternities, home missionaries for itinerant friars, female visitors for devoted sisters, annual subscriptions for penitential offerings, parliamentary grants for large individual bequests," etc. And what were these fraternities, and sisters, and friars, and penitential offerings, but names for the most flagrant abuses of the Romish church, of which all Protestants should be aware, and against a return to which all Protestant churches should be warned?

Advocates, as these writers are, of the supremacy of the church, they are of course opposed to the views of those who regard the established church of England as a state institution. "One of the principal dangers to which we seem at this time exposed, is that of identifying heresy with mere *dissent*, which is the natural consequence of identifying the church with the establishment." "The basis of Christian union is not nationality but Catholicism." Such is their language. Hence they find heresy among the members of the establishment, as well as among Dissenters, and sigh for the prevalence of the authority, and the restoration of the usages, of the "Holy Catholic Church;" while they deprecate the existence of all voluntary societies for religious beneficence, and lament over their success, however large the blessings attending it, as indicative of the tendency of the times to depart from the ancient ways and modes of Christianity; by which these writers mean the usages which they have endeavored to prove were practised "in the 4th century as in the 1st, and in the 12th as in the 4th."

ART. III. We have here a review (44 pages) of *Milman's History of Christianity*, in 3 volumes, a brief notice of which is contained in our last No. p. 189. The reviewer commends and censures the work in much the same points on which the notice referred to bestows praise and blame. His positions, however, are amply sustained by quotations from the work itself, and though some of his censure is perhaps carried to an unjustifiable extreme, we think he has succeeded in proving that Milman, in writing the external History of Christianity, has too much neglected the recognition of its internal and gracious influences. Aside from these objections, his work is admitted to bear upon the face of it evidences of much thought and varied research.

ART. IV. This article, of 37 pages, is on an Act recently passed in Parliament, denominated the "*Cathedral Act*," and which appears to have been vigorously opposed by the clergy, and finally to have been much modified through their influence. Its effect is to reduce the number of clergy in several of the cathedrals of the church of England, and to diminish the income of some of the canonries. But as these are matters of mere local interest and controversy, in England, with which our readers, generally, will not care to be acquainted, we pass this article with no further remark.

ART. V. *Education of the Intellect in English Public Schools.* We were less attracted by the title of this article than we have been delighted and instructed by its perusal. Its object is to defend the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and the practice of verse composition, in those languages, against popular objections, and to investigate in detail the offices they perform in the education of the mind. It occupies about 20 pages, and is so excellent both in style and reasoning, and so well adapted to meet similar objections in our own country, that we cannot feel satisfied to dismiss it with a mere notice. Our readers may expect it entire, or nearly so, in the next No. of the *Eclectic*.

ART. VI. *History of the Isle of Man, and the Diocese of Sodor and Man.* Although the *Isle of Man* has been dependent on the crown of England, since 1765, yet the English Parliament has seldom claimed the right to legislate on any thing concerning its internal government. It possesses a distinct legislature of its own, the acts of which have ever become final, without any consent beyond that of the lord of the Island. The history of this dependent, yet independent monarchy, and of the church establishment connected with it, contains many curious documents and incidents which are here presented, or described and commented on, in a review, of nearly thirty pages, headed by the title of a History of the Island, by W. P. Ward, recently published in London.

ART. VII. *The Works of William Ellery Channing, D. D.* A new edition, complete in one volume, Glasgow, 1840. "*The Works of Dr. Channing*," then, is the running title of this article, which is the last in the present No. of the *British Critic*, and fills 39 pages. But this title would not convey to the reader the most distant idea of the variety of topics embraced in the article itself. It is a tirade of sarcastic and painstaking abuse and ridicule of the government, usages and intellectual and moral tendencies of this country. The writer seems to identify the influence of Dr. Channing with that of the United States, which he sarcastically calls "the Union," and holds him up as the *Magnus Apollo*, the representative of us all. He compares the tendencies of our own institutions with those of the "Trades Union," and other radical associations in England, which he represents as having, at length, become thoroughly ashamed of each other and of us. "This disastrous gloom," he says, "which has gathered over the character of the Union, has, of course, helped to cloud the reputation and authority of every American writer, so far as he seems a real American, and unless he can claim the benefit of some happy exception. Dr. Channing, being perhaps more purely and entirely an American than any other of his generation, has in consequence completely sunk, so to speak, below the horizon of public opinion, more totally even, we should say, than he deserves. The nation and the prophet have gone down together, equally bankrupt and discarded." Again, he says, "There is, perhaps, no living writer of emi-

nence whom the change of times, and of public opinion has thrown so much in the rear of events as Dr. Channing :”—“ he is gone by, and is now a mere nullity, as an author on this side the Atlantic ;”—“ stale, flat and unprofitable.”

Now, as our readers have never voluntarily placed themselves in such company, nor elected such a representative in foreign courts, nor made their appeal to such an arbiter, they will not be anxious to know all that is said of them, or of Dr. Channing, in the Oxford Quarterly ; nor would they desire us to spread out upon our pages the whole of this garrulous article. A single mouthful of the tainted meat is sufficient to condemn the dinner. So, here we close our accounts, for the present, with the *British Critic* ; not because we are reluctant to publish and look in the face all that our transatlantic brethren may choose to say against us, but because we prefer to save both time and labor by waiting for a more condensed and plausible expression of the prejudices of a portion of the English press than we find in the article here referred to.—*Sr. Ed.*

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## ARTICLE XII.

### RECENT DISCOVERIES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

#### GEOLOGY.

##### NEW VOLCANIC ISLANDS.

ON Nov. 6, was read to the Geological Society,—A letter from Mr. Caldecleugh, dated Santiago de Chili, 18th February, 1839, containing the declaration of the master and part of the crew of the Chilian brig *Thily*, of the discovery during the evening of the 12th of February, of three Volcanic Islands, about thirty leagues to the east of Juan Fernandez. The island which was first noticed appeared, at the time of its discovery, to be rising out of the sea : it afterwards divided into two pyramids, which crumbled away, but their base remained above the level of a violent surge ; and in the course of the same evening, the height of the island was for a time again considerably increased. The other two Volcanic Islets bore farther southwards. During the night, the crew of the *Thily* noticed, at intervals, a light in the same direction.—*Athenæum.*

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##### FOSSIL ORGANIC REMAINS.

*Mammalia*.—M. Lartet announces the discovery of two fossil Carnivora, one of which appears to constitute a sub-genus, intermediate between the badger and the otter, and the second approaching to the dog, differing but little from that gigantic fossil which he has described under the name of *Amphicyon*. He is of opinion that the latter is the



same animal as that of which some remains were found at Epelsheim, and which constitutes the genus *Agnethorium* of M. Kaup. "There are," says M. Lartet, "a considerable number of fossil mammiferæ found on the borders of the Rhine, which appear to me to be identical with those which are daily brought to light at the foot of the Pyrenees. These affinities are the more interesting, because the intermediate countries, Auvergne, for instance, possessed very different races of animals."—*Athenæum*.

*Mammoth*.—Dr. Fairbrother has exhibited to the Bristol philosophical Society the tusk of a Mammoth, which had been found on the line of the Great Western Railway, near the spot where the city boundary crosses the line. It appears that this interesting fossil was discovered in the lower part of a bed of gravel, which reposes upon red sandy and marly beds, forming a part of the New Red Sandstone formation. Its length is about five and a half feet, its circumference varying from twenty-one to ten inches. It is curved in a form nearly circular, and occupies an arc of about one hundred and forty degrees. Mr. Stutchbury, supposed it to be a part only of the original tusk, which was probably nine feet in length.

*Mastodon*.—A molar, considered to belong to Cuvier's species of the narrow-toothed *Mastodon*, was dredged up off Eastern Cliff, Suffolk, in June: it is nearly perfect, and weighs three and three-quarter pounds. Till within the last five years, it was doubted whether the remains of the *Mastodon* had been discovered in England.—*Mag. Nat. History*; *abridged*.

*Glyptodon*.—Appended to Sir. W. Parish's recently published account of Buenos Ayres, is an interesting note drawn up by Mr. Owen, of the College of Surgeons, from a sketch and a tooth of the apparently complete remains of a monstrous fossil animal, entirely new to us. The monster it refers to was found in the bank of a rivulet, near the Rio Matauza, in the Partido of Cannelas, about twenty miles south of the city of Buenos Ayres, in a low marshy place, above five feet below the surface. It appears from the report sent home with the original drawing, that the entire length of the beast, from the snout to the end of the tail, measures eight and a half English feet; the width of the body, three feet four inches; and its height, three feet six inches. The vertebral column, from the neck to the sacrum, is all together; the ilia uniting with the vertebral column and sacrum in one single and immovable piece. Thus the sketch conveys the idea of a gigantic quadruped of the megatherium or armadillo family, having the internal skeleton and the external dermal bony case in their natural relative positions. The head is covered with a coronal plate of a form closely corresponding with that which defends the like part in existing armadillos: a long descending process is indicated as being continued from the zygoma, with a slight curve forward: this structure is interesting, as showing that the part in which the megatherium most strikingly resembles the sloth is participated by another species, which indubitably possesses the characteristic armor of the armadillo tribe.

*Dinotherium*.—Dr. Eichwald has read a memoir before the Imperial Academy of Sciences, at St. Petersburg, in which he notifies the existence of the *Dinotherium* in the Crimea, which is very rich in the remains of the ancient world. Most of the country of Kertsch belongs to the recent tertiary formation, characterized by the pisiform iron. In the midst of this iron and heaps of shells, the remains of a large mammalia have been found, which are very heavy, and have passed into a silicious state; they consist of ribs and vertebræ. A skull has also been met with, which, in some points, approaches that of the *Dinotherium*.—*Athenæum*.

*Bird on the Continent*.—M. Agassiz, mentions a fact of high geological interest. In the slate of Glaris, and in a stratum of the age of the inferior chalk, he has found nearly the entire skeleton of a Bird, of the size of a swallow. This is the first instance of the kind which has occurred to M. Agassiz's knowledge on the continent. Dr. Buckland, however, observes that instances of this kind are not rare in England; and that Dr. Mantell has discovered many animals of the same period in the weald formation of Sussex.—*Proc. Brit. Assoc.*

*London Clay*.—There has been read to the Geological Society—"A notice of some Organic Bodies procured from the London clay," by Mr. Wetherell, in indurated nodules of clay, obtained from the excavations for the Birmingham Railway, between Euston-square and Kilburn. Some of the specimens consist of flat flabelliform bodies; more or less corrugated on the surface, and covered with minute oviform grains in close contact with each other. Several of the specimens are cylindrical and branched, varying in diameter from half an inch to less than a tenth; and they are likewise wholly or partially covered with the egg-shaped grains. Besides these fossils of a definite form, Mr. Wetherell has procured a multitude of others perfectly amorphous. They are generally of a dark color, and are for the most part without apparent internal structure, but they occasionally consist of concentric lamellæ. The granules are not unfrequently dispersed through the substance of the specimen, or they are collected in irregular patches on the surface. A series of these bodies, illustrative of the memoir, has been presented to the Society's Museum by Mr. Wetherell.

Mr. Lyell has communicated to the British Association some very interesting details of new fossil remains in the London clay and red crag in Suffolk. Alluding to the fossil bird, of the size of a swallow, found by M. Agassiz in the slate of Glaris, he observes that this, like many other discoveries, ought to be a warning to geologists never to erect hypotheses on the evidence of the non-existence of any fossil, simply because they had not happened to meet with them in particular strata or formations. This principle he had endeavored to enforce years ago, and every year's farther experience had confirmed him in the necessity of attending to it. It now appeared that mammalian remains were found in two strata, among marine deposits, where they were never before thought of;—a caution of a stronger order than they had yet received on the subject of determining the relative age of those various materials of which the crust of the earth was composed. The

first specimen was in chalk of the oldest of the tertiary series, full of marine shells (eocene), of which from one to three per cent. only were of known living species. In the red crag of Suffolk, on the contrary, there were thirty per cent. of shells and fishes of the present day (pliocene), so that it might be fairly concluded that a large space of time had intervened between these two formations. He was inclined, however, to change the opinion he had formerly entertained, and to consider this Suffolk crag to belong to the miocene or middle tertiary series. Hitherto, no remains of mammalia had been discovered in this formation, until the first of these specimens was brought under his notice by Mr. Colchester, a well-informed geologist, by whom it was found near Woodbridge. On examining it, together with the many fishes' teeth which accompanied it, he was convinced that it belonged to a mammalian animal; and Professor Owen at once pronounced it to be one of the grinders of a beast of prey allied to the tiger species. On farther examination, it was found to be the left-side jaw-tooth of a leopard. Incited by this discovery, Mr. Wood proceeded to the neighborhood, where the workmen in the crag-pit had been accustomed for more than twenty years to deliver the teeth they fell in with to an old woman of the village for sale. Among these, were sharks' teeth, and all the rest were of different fishes, but none of mammalia. In another collection, however, of the same kind, made by the Rev. Mr. Moor, of Newbourn, and consisting of the teeth of fish, Mr. Owen detected the molar tooth of a bear; and another, the tooth of some unknown ruminant. These were more or less broken, but still sufficiently perfect to allow of their identification. No doubt they had been found in the large pit at Newbourn, and only one point of doubt rested on the subject. There were many rents or fissures descending from the surface; and it was possible that the teeth might have come out of these rents, which penetrated through the upper red shelly crag into the London clay below. Thus, the remains of the hyena had been found among the marine deposits of the Kentish crag, which had fallen through a similar fissure. They had, therefore, to guard themselves against the possibility that these teeth might have been derived from such an accident, and not belong to the strata with marine deposits below. To guide them in this respect it would be well to see if the color, condition and general appearances of the mammalian remains corresponded with those of the fishes among which they were imbedded. In the present instance the resemblance was very great. Mr. L. then referred to the Norwich crag, which held fluvial shells, fresh-water and marine intermingled; and supposed that a river might have floated down the carcasses of the quadrupeds, and deposited them with the other remains. In the London clay, where an immense number of fishes' teeth occurred, at Kyson near Woodbridge, one of a mammifer had been found with two fangs—and no fish or reptile ever had two—which on being taken to Mr. Owen he declared it at first sight not to belong to carnivora, for they never had them of this form, and few granivora possessed them. He suspected it to be marsupial, and went to the kangaroos, where he immediately recognised it, and it the North American opossum (*Didelphis Virginiana*) its nearest likeness. The next specimen from the same site, procured by the renewed exertions of Mr. Wood and Mr. Colchester, consisted of the lower jaw

of an animal, with four cusps, and containing the last tooth in the jaw and part of that nearest to it. This belonged to the monkey (the *Macacus*), and the *macacus radiatus* was the living genus the most nearly allied to it. The geological formation where it was found was, first, superincumbent crag; below this, a clay, seventeen feet in thickness; and below the clay, sand ten feet thick, and full of fishes' teeth. At the top of this sand where it was overlaid by clay, these important remains were found. Cuvier had described an opossum in the eocene gypsum near Paris, and he considered them to belong to the same period as the London clay. Mr. Fox had also made similar discoveries in the Isle of Wight; and it was most remarkable to find the quadrumanous organization the nearest approaching to our own information of so remote an era. He had supposed such possibilities in his published work; and it was curious that within two years they should have found in France, India and South America, instances, proofs of their existence. First, a fossil ape, of the miocene period, had been discovered in France; probably a Gibbon, and high in organization so near to human. Next, at the foot of the Himalaya, another had been discovered; but the present was the first instance so far from the equator of quadrumana among eocene remains. In the London clay, crocodiles, creatures, and plants of the torrid zone, the bread-fruit, the nautilus, and other natural productions, all showed that the climate had been much hotter than at the subsequent period when the red crag was formed. The whole illustrated the progressive development of animal life; and this single discovery had destroyed the long-maintained theory that those of a high organization had been created just antecedent to the creation of man. M. De la Beche bore testimony to the very great importance of this paper; and observed that the remains of marsupial animals were found in much older rock, of the oolite formation. The discovery of this monkey upset all previous notions connected with the appearance of man upon the earth; and he was glad to take this opportunity of retracting his previous opinions on the subject.—*Proceedings of the British Association*; *Literary Gazette*.

There has been also read to the Society,—a paper, "On the Fossil Remains of a Mammal, a Bird, and a Serpent, from the London Clay." Until a few months since, the highest organized animal remains known to exist in the London clay, were those of reptiles and fishes.—*Athen*.

*Infusoria in Ireland*.—Dr. Drummond has communicated to the *Magazine of Natural History* a notice of fossil Infusoria received from Newcastle, at the base of the Mourne Mountains, County Down; and consisting of a very light, white, earthy substance, which had been found in considerable quantity in the above neighborhood. This Dr. Drummond found to be the same kind of substance as Prof. Bailey had found in a bog at West Point, in America, and which consisted of the silicious remains of organized microscopic beings, either animal or vegetable. Dr. Drummond is not aware that fossil Infusoria have hitherto been found in the British Islands.

The substance referred to is, when dry, of the whiteness of chalk, but becomes brownish when wet; it is as light as carbonate of magnesia, which it much resembles, but it is not acted on by nitric, muriatic, or



sulphuric acids, and is indestructible by fire. The specimen was a compact mass, of the shape, and nearly the size, of an ordinary building brick; it could easily be rubbed down into powder, and had a coarse and somewhat fibrous fracture; when a portion was rubbed between the finger and thumb, it had no grittiness, but felt like an impalpable powder, and when it was then blown into the air, it flew about almost like wood ashes.

On examining many times small portions of the fossil mixture with a little water, on a slip of glass, the whole was found to be composed of the bodies, of which long linear *spicula* formed, at least, four-fifths. Occasionally confervoid fragments were seen, and frequently minute annular portions. There was no admixture whatever of unorganized matter, and no medium of cement whatever.

The spicular bodies are joints of the *Diatoma elongata*, (*Engl. Flora*, Vol. V., pt. I. p. 406.) This species grows abundantly in a small drain of clear water in the grounds of the Royal Belfast Institution, and its joints in the microscope are seen to be precisely similar to the spicular bodies. When the loricated *Infusoria* are burned to ashes, the latter are found to be their silicious coverings unchanged; and the same thing occurs in the *Diatoma*, as was discovered by De Brebisson and Prof. Bailey. On burning the *Diatoma* to a red heat, when cold it was found to be unchanged in form, appearance and sharpness of outline. The *Navicula tripunctata* was found to be equally unaffected by heat, as also some other *Infusoria*.

The deposit here described is evidently of the same description as that found in the New World, by Prof. Bailey, and analogous to that found in several places of the Old World; viz. the *Kieselguhr* of Frauenbad, and the deposit in peat-bog near the same place, the *Berghmehl* of Santa Fiora, etc., which are formed of fossil *Infusoria* remains.

*Berghmehl*.—Dr. Trail has analyzed a *Berghmehl* from the north of Sweden, and found it to be composed of the minute shields of *Infusoria*, about one-thousandth of an inch in size, consisting chiefly of silicious earth and alumina.—*Proc. Wernerian Society*.

*Brazil*.—M. Lund, of Lagoat-Santa, has made a voluminous report to the French Academy of Sciences, concerning the fossil mammiferae of that country, from which the following is an extract: Of this class of animals he has found 75 distinct species, belonging to 43 genera, most of which abound in caverns. The part of the country studied by him lies between the Rio das Velhas, one of the tributaries of the Rio San Francisco, and the Rio Paraopeba. This district forms a plain 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is traversed by a chain of mountains only from 300 to 700 feet high. This chain is composed of secondary limestone, stratified in horizontal layers, having all the characters of the *zechstein* and *hochleu kalkstein* of the Germans. It is entirely hollowed out into caverns, and crossed by cracks in every direction, and its interior more or less filled with a red earth, identical with that which forms the superficial stratum of the country, and which is from 10 to 15 feet thick. This is often so ferruginous, that its particles of iron are transformed into a pisolithic mineral, like that of the Jura. This earth

has undergone some modifications in the caverns, for it contains angular or rolled fragments of the calcarious rock, particles of lime deposited by the water which filters through the cracks, and it is impregnated with saltpetre. The fossils lie in this earth, and are disposed pell-mell in the middle of it. They are all fragile, of white fracture, often petrified, adhere closely to the sockets in which they lie, frequently present calcarious spath, are broken, crushed, or otherwise mutilated, and bear marks of teeth, showing that they have been carried there by the ferocious animals which inhabited those caverns, and also by a species of diurnal bird.—*Athenæum*.

*Vegetable Skeletons*.—Mr. Bowman has read to the British Association a paper on some skeletons of fossil Vegetables, found by Mr. Binney, in white impalpable powder, under a peat-bog near Gainsborough, in a stratum four to six inches in thickness, and covering several acres. It remained unchanged by the sulphuric, hydrochloric, and nitric acids, and by heat, and was concluded to be pure silicia, in a state of extremely minute subdivision. On submitting it to the highest power of the compound microscope, it was found to consist of a mass of transparent squares and parallelograms of different relative proportions, whose edges were perfectly sharp and smooth, and the areas often traced with very delicate parallel lines. On comparing these with the forms of some existing *Conservee*, Mr. Bowman found the resemblance so strong, that he entertained no doubt they were the fragments of parasitical plants of that order, either identical with, or nearly allied to the tribe *Diatomaceæ*, which grow abundantly on other *Algæ*, both marine and fresh water, but are so minute, that individually they are invisible to the naked eye. They are the counterparts of the fossil *Infusoria* of Ehrenberg, and occupy the same place in the vegetable kingdom as those do in the animal.—*Athenæum*.

#### FOSSIL TREES.

MR. HAWKSHAW read before the Geological Society, June, 1839, an account of a remarkable disclosure made in the Bolton Railway, near Manchester, of five fossil trees in a position vertical to the plane of the strata in which they stand. The roots are imbedded in a soft argillaceous shale, immediately under a thin bed of coal. Near the base of one tree and beneath the coal, more than a bushel of hard clay nodules was found, each inclosing a cone of *Lepidostrobur variabilis*. The bark of the trees was converted to coal, from one quarter to three quarters of an inch thick. The substance which has replaced the interior of the trees is shale. The circumference of the largest of them is  $15\frac{1}{2}$  feet at the base,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  at the top, and its height is 11 feet. One tree has spreading roots, four feet in circumference, solid and strong. The attendant phenomena seem to show that they grew upon the strata that lie immediately beneath their roots.—*Lond. & Ed. Phil. Magazine*.

Feb. 1840, Mr. Hawkshaw presented another paper, stating that another fossil tree had been found on the opposite side of the railway.

It is about 3 feet in height and 3 feet in circumference, and stands on the same thin stratum of coal as those first discovered, and perpendicularly to the surface of the bed. Mr. Hawkshaw is therefore strengthened in his belief that the trees grew in the position in which they are found.

A paper was also read, on the character of the fossil trees lately discovered near Manchester, by John E. Bowman, Esq., in which the author supports the theory of repeated subsidences of the earth, during the carboniferous era, in opposition to the drift theory. From a careful examination of the fossils described by Mr. Hawkshaw, in the preceding paper, Mr. Bowman is convinced that they stand where they originally flourished; that they were not succulent, but dicotyledonous, hard-wooded forest trees; and that their gigantic roots were manifestly adapted for taking firm hold of the soil, and in conjunction with the swollen base of the trunks, to support a solid tree of large dimensions with a spreading top.

Mr. Bowman states that, towards the close of 1838, in forming the railway tunnel at Claycross, five miles south of Chesterfield, a number of fossil trees were found, standing at right angles to the plane of the strata. The bases of the trees rested upon a seam of coal fifteen inches thick. The exterior of the stems consisted of a thin film of bright coal, furrowed and marked, like the *sigillaria reniformis*, and the interior consisted of a fine-grained sandstone. Mr. Conway, who supplied Mr. Bowman with an account of the discovery, infers from the information he obtained, that there must have been at least forty trees found there; and judging from the area excavated, he is of opinion that they could not have stood more than three or four feet apart. There were no traces of roots, the stems disappearing at the point of contact with the coal.

In respect to fossil trees in general, Mr. Bowman proceeds to show:—1, that they were solid, hard-wooded timber trees, in opposition to the common opinion that they were soft or hollow; 2, that they originally grew and died where they have been found, and consequently were not drifted thither,—and 3, that they became hollow by the decay of their wood, from natural causes, similar to those still in operation in tropical climates, and were afterwards filled with inorganic matter, precipitated from the water.—*Annals of Nat. Hist.* abridged.

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ROCK CRYSTAL SPUN.

M. GAUDIN, April, 1840, sent to the French Academy of Science, a specimen of rock crystal, which he had melted and drawn out into threads, several feet in length, with the greatest ease. He has also found that rock crystal moulds easily by pressure, and that it is very volatile at a temperature a little above its melting point.

In a more recent essay M. Gaudin has tried the temper and relations of rock crystal, which has afforded unexpected results. If a drop of melted crystal fall into water, far from cracking and flying to pieces, it remains limpid, and furnishes good lenses for the microscope. When struck by a hammer the instrument rebounds, and the lump will sink into a brick rather than break. Its tenacity is such, that pieces can be detached only as splinters. It resembles steel in elasticity and tenacity.

Silicious compounds act nearly in the same way as rock crystal. The sandstone of the pavements spins off like it, with this difference, that its threads, instead of being limpid are of a pure white, nacreous, silky and chatoyant, in a singular degree, so that they might be mistaken for silk; and the globules, to a certain degree, have the aspect of fine pearls. There is no doubt that in this way successful means will be employed in producing imitations, which will be preferred to natural pearls, since they will possess the hardness of annealed rock crystal, instead of that of a calcarious compound.

The emerald threads perfectly well, and its threads, which scratch rock crystal, are also more tenacious than crystal threads.—*Journ. Pract. Chemie.*

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### ARTICLE XIII.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

##### GREAT BRITAIN.

- 1.—*Review of the Management of our Affairs in China, since the opening of the Trade in 1834, &c.* London, 1840.
- 2.—*What can be done to Suppress the Opium Trade?* By William Grosser. London, 1840. Printed for the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society.

THE first of these two works, which professes to be a "Review of the management of our affairs in China," is a mere Anti-Chinese and pro-Elliot pamphlet, written in a flippant and frivolous style. The other, which is by the Secretary of the "Anti-Opium Society," proposes a mode of extinguishing the opium trade. The largest portion of the drug sent to China, Mr. Grosser says, "is raised in the dominions of the East India Company," which is not true; the largest portion is Malwa opium. The Company, he says, "could suppress the growth of opium in their own dominions," and he adduces the evidence of opium smugglers, to show that the Company "forced opium upon the Chinese!" How to get rid of the Malwa opium, which would supply the void created by the absence of that of Patna and Benares, is, he admits, "not so easy." But he supposes that British influence, moral considerations and fiscal arrangements, would effect the object. By "British influence" it would appear that coercion towards the native princes is meant. Opium, it is true, might still find a vent through Demau; but it would be of course very easy to get possession of this place from the Portuguese. It is quite amusing to find such men as Mr. Jardine, who have made large fortunes by the contraband traffic in opium, gravely quoted by Mr. Grosser, in vituperation of the poor East India Company, just as if the Company had really "forced" the smugglers to take their opium in spite of their virtuous horror and unwillingness to realize large fortunes in a traffic repugnant to their inclinations.—*Asiatic Journal.*



- 3.—*The Life and Times of Montrose: illustrated from original MSS., including Family Papers now first published from the Montrose Charter-Chest, and other private Repositories. By Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate. Edinburgh, 1840.*

This work throws a very clear light upon those troubled times in Scotland, when private ambition, religious fanaticism and the untried principles of republicanism involved all transactions in a certain degree of mystery, and clouded the motives of the best as well as the worst men. The position in which the Marquis of Montrose was placed by his early connection with the Covenanters, his abandonment of them when he perceived their real object, and his heroic devotion to the cause of the monarchy, has exposed him to misapprehension and misrepresentation. The fortunate discovery of valuable documents in the Montrose and Napier Charter-Chests, and in the Advocates' Library, have enabled Mr. Napier to do ample justice to the integrity of the Marquis' character.

One of the most curious documents quoted in this work is the Diary of Sir Thomas Hope, who, though Lord Advocate for Scotland during the greater part of Charles the First's reign, was deeply imbued with the puritanical and republican spirit of the times. His Diary shows that the writer's imagination was filled with those hallucinations which were so common. He repeatedly records that he heard a voice from the Almighty, or, as he phrases it, "from my Lord," encouraging him in the work of rebellion.—*Asiatic Journal.*

- 4.—*The Poems of Geoffrey Chaucer modernized. By William Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Thomas Powel, and Miss Barrett; with a Life, by Professor Schmitz; and an Introduction, by R. H. Horne. London. 1840.*

Chaucer is a poet with whom we believe the majority of readers—even readers of poetry—consider themselves under little necessity of becoming acquainted. The obsolescence of some of the words he uses—the unusual sense he attributes to others, which still remain—the odd inflections into which his nouns and verbs are twisted—the useless clusters of consonants which clog his spelling—his expletives, which seem to come in only to help a lame verse over the stile—and his halting lines which no artifice of pronunciation can make run smoothly—altogether form a phalanx of obstacles which few of those who read only for pleasure have courage to attack; and the consequence is, that an author who, considering the difficulties and drawbacks by which he was surrounded, did more for the moulding and enriching of our language than perhaps any of those by whom he has been succeeded—who tried almost every kind of poetical composition, the romantic, the humorous, the heroic, the allegorical, and excelled in them all—who is capable alike of awakening the enthusiasm of the lover of the marvellous, and instructing the inquirer after national manners—picturesque, satirical, tender, impassioned—is left to slumber undisturbed in the cumbrousness of folios and the barbarity of black-letter, unless when an antiquarian or critic brushes off the dust and cobwebs, to find authority for some forgotten custom, or to point a sneer against the ignorance of our forefathers.

The lovers of our ancient English literature are under no slight obligation to Mr. Powell for introducing the father of our poetry to the general reader in a garb sufficiently suited to the fashion of the day to prevent the quaintness of his appearance distracting the attention from the nobleness of his features and the venerable dignity of his mien. The necessity for this undertaking is not in the least superseded by the imitations from Chaucer by Dryden and Pope, even where he goes over the same ground as they have done. Those two great poets by no means confined themselves to a literal following of their original. Pope's "Temple of Fame" is much more than a rendering into the language of Queen Anne's time, of Chaucer's "Hous off Fame;" the examples are changed; there is compression, amplification, substitution, in short, a second poem on the same model. It is the same with Dryden. In his "Character of a good Parson" for example, a passage as much admired, perhaps, as any in his writings, he writes nearly as much from the force of his own mind as from Chaucer's "Poure Persone of a Toun." Of the beautiful passage beginning—

The prelate for his holy life he prized—  
The worldly pomp of prelacy despised,

there is the germ, and only the germ, in Chaucer; while of the next, where, under the guise of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth, he insinuates his own opinions of King William and the Revolution, and which ends with the often quoted couplet,

Much to himself he thought, but little spoke,  
And, undeprived, his benefice forsook—

there is not the slightest trace or hint to be found.—*Colonial Magazine*.

5.—*Faithful Picture of the French Revolution*.—By W. Currie Arneil, A. M. Small 8vo. pp. 320. Glasgow, W. R. McPhun.

A dreadful panorama, concentrated within a limited space; the leading characters prominently displayed in the foreground, the subordinates well grouped rearward; the surrounding gloom and blood-red scenes graphically depicted, and the whole presenting a striking *coup d'œil* of fearful interest.—*Colonial Magazine*.

6.—*A Geographical Survey of Africa, its Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Productions, States, Population, &c.* By James M'Queen. London, 1840.

Mr. M'Queen will not altogether escape the censure of the calm, candid and enlightened reader, in respect to the Geography of Africa, whether he be tried on the score of temper or of conjecture. At the same time it is manifest from the elaborate production before us that he has been at extraordinary pains to arrive at the truth; that his reading has been boundless on the subject, his reflections matured, and that his ardor is unabated. Many years ago he distinguished himself on these points. His ingenious guessing, his sustained sagacity, his accumulated information and his predictive accuracy, as proved by important

discoveries, were such as to command the admiration of many and the attention of the government. And now, if he be not always satisfactory but sometimes irritated or credulous, or critically unsound, the reader is to remember the difficulties with which he has to contend, the contradictions he has to reconcile and dispose of, and the wastes or obscure lands he has to traverse; and then one will be in a better condition to appreciate a work, which has no equal in our language, as a guide to the notions of the public, and we may add, as a directory to the government, when fitting out an expedition with the view of exploring the immense regions in question, and of introducing agriculture, commercial relations and consequent civilization; or, to use Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Queen's own words, "of extirpating at its roots the African slave trade and the causes and the passions which produce it."

A large map enriches the volume, which appears to have been constructed with extreme regard to accuracy, and after the most scrupulous care bestowed on the points laid down.—*Monthly Review*.

7.—*The Biblical Cabinet. Vol. XXVIII. Edinburgh, 1840.*

The volumes of the Biblical Cabinet are intended to constitute a "hermeneutical, exegetical and philological library." It contains several volumes translated from the German by English and American authors. The last of these, as we learn from an article of some fifteen pages, in the *Monthly Review*, is a "Sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. Tholuck, Tholuck's Remarks on the life, character and style of the Apostle Paul,—sermons by him on various occasions, and an essay on the nature and moral influences of heathenism, especially among the Greeks and Romans, viewed in the light of Christianity." Most of these papers are contained in an interesting volume of "*Selections from German Literature*," by Professors B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, of the Theological Seminary, Andover; an able review of which will be found in the *American Biblical Repository* for July, 1839. The portions republished in the above volume of the "Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet," are chiefly attributed to the pen of Prof. Park, who is deservedly commended in the *Monthly*, for "his calm and manly tone, and the discriminating judgment exercised" in his Sketch of the Life of Tholuck, etc.; though the writer is wrong in presuming that Prof. Park has acquired his knowledge of German literature from having "travelled in Germany, and associated with some of the most celebrated of her clerical sons and academic teachers." It is more to his praise, perhaps, that his acquisitions have been made by study, amid the labors of his profession.

8.—*The History of the Celtic Language, wherein it is shown to be based upon Natural Principles, and, elementarily considered, contemporaneous with the Infancy of the Human Family; likewise showing its importance in order to the proper understanding of the Classics, including the sacred Text, the Hieroglyphics, the Cabala, &c. &c. 12mo. London, 1840.*

A Welsh gentleman, in the midst of a recital of his pedigree, stated incidentally, "about this time the world began." We entertained doubts of the truth of this anecdote, thinking it was a mere joke against

the Celts; but our author has cured us of such incredulity. According to his theory the Gaelic or Celtic was the first, is the best, and will be the last of mortal languages. Adam spoke Gaelic. If the reader demur, and insist upon proof, Mr. Maclean can settle the question definitively in the following manner:

"Gomer spoke the Celtic. If Gomer, why not his father Japhet? If Japhet, why not his father Noah? If Noah, who was an antediluvian, when the whole land spoke one language, why not Methuselah, who was for 600 years his contemporary? and if Methuselah, why not Adam, who, again, was Methuselah's contemporary, and, for aught we know, his bosom friend, for the space of 248 years."—p. 30.

Our author, not satisfied with making Adam speak Gaelic, spends three chapters in proving that the birds and beasts speak Celtic also. Thus the contents of chapter III. are stated to be, "Adam giving names to the beasts of the field." These names, an echo or rehearsal of their voices severally, are still preserved in the Celtic language and its cognate dialects," etc. And we are informed, that, "any person desirous to learn how to pronounce the very important diphthong *ao* in Celtic, requires but to imitate the note of the calf."—p. 84.

Chapter VI. proves that Eve, as well as Adam, spoke Gaelic, which, as a dutiful wife, we conceive she was bound to do.

Mr. Maclean falls foul of the Hebrew language for presuming to compete with the Gaelic.

The confusion of languages rather confounds him, lest his beloved Celtic should be thereby endangered; but he does not allow Babel to bother him long. He manfully takes the bull by the horns, maintaining that, "at Babel it was not language, but religious sentiment or creed, that was confounded."

Our author, as he proceeds, rises to a loftier strain. "The Celtic or Gaelic language is so natural, so descriptive, that the most illiterate is not unfrequently the best orator—the person who deals in the strongest and most poetical expressions, and with the greatest precision of application! . . . . Who are our sublimest poets?" He answers, "that man and this woman who never knew a volume but the volume of nature—who never knew an alphabet but the grand alphabet of hieroglyphics!"—p. 261.

It is a sacred language—the emanation of the gods, and inseparably incorporated with their history and their worship."—p. 132. Nay, "Have not pride, prejudice, and parliament had their furies let loose upon it for centuries, and what have they effected? Why, they made captives of many words, and changed their names; but after a lapse of well nigh six thousand years, the Celtic still flourisheth, a living phenomenon, and shall flourish—

"Secure amid the war of elements,  
The wreck of matter, and the crash of worlds."—p. 70.

Still keeping with our author in the upper regions, we must not omit his great discovery that the Celts smoked without tobacco, and named tobacco before it was discovered.

"The term *tobacco*, in Celtic *tombac*, has caused a deal of discussion,



but we have never yet seen it explained satisfactorily. The etymologist overlooked nature. The practice of smoking *some sort* of substance is very ancient, and by no means confined in its origin to the root tobacco, nor yet to America. In closing the lips in smoking, the letter *m* is formed, and in opening them on a sudden, *ba*: the *t* being a formative, if, indeed, it do not partake of the divinity *Tau*."—*Westminster Review*.

9.—*Moral Philosophy, or the Duties of Man considered in his Individual, Social and Domestic Capacities.* By George Combe. London, 1840.

George Combe and Dr. Andrew Combe are both talented writers, but not of equal merit, and it is of some importance that the public should learn not to confound the one with the other, as we find has sometimes happened. Dr. Andrew Combe, whose physiological works are beyond all praise, is not the same with the author of "Moral Philosophy." George Combe, the author of the present work, is known chiefly for his works on phrenology, and for the phrenological bias given to every subject upon which he has written. We have here a system of moral philosophy, like his "Constitution of Man," and "Popular Education," founded upon phrenology. It is difficult to decide, when we take up a work by this author, whether to smile or to weep; to smile at the monomania that would find engraved upon the skull all the mysteries of the human mind, or to weep that, as in the case of Bishop Berkeley (who wrote both the theory of vision and a treatise on the virtues of tar water), the wisdom of the wisest among us should be sometimes mixed up with the wildest folly. The volume before us is really one which has made us angry,—angry that a work, which contains abundant evidence of great practical good sense, and many pages of which are worthy to form a text-book for educationists and statesmen, should yet be utterly spoiled by the harping of the writer constantly upon one string; his favorite idea, that the science of all sciences is the science of phrenology.

The basis of the theory, no doubt, is sound enough. The brain is an organ of the mind, and certain parts of the brain have certain functions, the exact nature of which may, perhaps, by long-continued observation and experiment, be ultimately to some extent ascertained. But it is little short of lunacy to jump from this to the conclusion that the brain is divided into thirty-five organs, each having a duplicate, and that the exact situation and functions of these are so accurately known, that the study of phrenology, with the view to choosing a wife, is the safest way to avoid unhappy marriages. Of the truth of this position, Mr. Combe tells us, in his fifth chapter, he has the strongest possible conviction.—*Westminster Review*.

10.—*Clerical Conformity and Church Property. The Pillars of the Church of England. The Prayer Book opposed to the Corn Laws. Religion and Politics. Practical Suggestions on Church Reform. Remarks on National Education.*—Price 2d. each. By the Rev. Thomas Spencer, M. A., Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1840.

Mr. Spencer's Philosophy is not that which is taught from the moral

chair of Oxford, nor has his religion any thing of the apostolical succession about it, except a simple, truthful benevolence inherited in a direct line from the men of Galilee. Religion, in his view of it, "is not the religion of a sect or party; mere church of Englandism, or mere dissent; it is not a mere instrument for collecting tithes, or for enriching a popular preacher; it is not a religion of creeds and doctrines—of sacred history past, or of prophecies yet unfulfilled; but it is the atmosphere in which the just man lives; it speaks with his mouth; it writes with his pen; it smites with his hammer; it follows his plough; it stands behind his counter; it presides over him at his desk, and in the social circle; it makes him eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and instruction to the ignorant."

We heartily rejoice that the church has still such men as the curate of Hinton Charterhouse; and if he means to be perpetual curate, we hope he will remain in perpetuity the same efficient, warm-hearted, large-minded reformer that he is now. These liberal clergymen of the establishment have facilities for getting access to the public ear, which must go far to reconcile even a sensitive moral taste to whatever is anomalous in their position. And when courage to speak out is sufficiently tempered with good sense, and the man is neither cowed by the terrors of the episcopacy, nor irritated into a petulant, ostentatious antagonism, but goes straight on with quiet fearlessness, we recognize and hail the true Conservative reformer. These conditions of public moral efficiency are abundantly realized in Mr. Spencer.—*Westminster Review*.

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GERMANY.

- 1.—*Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum. Edidit H. A. Niemeyer. Lipsiæ, 1840.*

The most important works which have before appeared in Germany relating to this subject, or embracing the principal Confessions, are Planck's Sketch of the Dogmatic Systems of the Christian Sects; Mess's Collection of Confessions, 1828-30, 2 vols; Beck's Collection, 1830, 2 vols.; and Augusti's *Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum*, qui in *Ecclesia Reformatorum auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt*. This last has several important omissions, and it lacks a sufficient apparatus of notes, etc. Prof. Niemeyer's book is commended as by far the best which has appeared, in respect to the number of creeds,—twenty-eight,—valuable translations, literary notices, etc. It is the first critical edition of the Reformed Symbols. The Preface of 88 pages characterizes, "in elegant Latinity," the various Confessions, their peculiar modifications, etc.—*Hall. Allg. Lit. Zeitung*.

- 2.—*Manual of the History of Philosophy.—Part I. Introd. and Hist. of Grecian Philosophy. By Dr. G. O. Marbach. Leipsic.*

The author handles his subject under eight divisions;—the Ionic school, Pythagoreans, Eleatic school, Sophists, Socrates and the Socra-

tics, Plato and the Academics, Aristotle and the Peripatetics, and the Greek Philosophy of Rome, as it existed in the forms of dogmatism and skepticism. This volume differs from other similar treatises, in the practical mode in which the subject is developed. It is rather objective than subjective. The author does not refer to passages in proof of his positions, but gives the passages themselves as parts of the whole exhibition. His treatment of Plato is made to depend on the testimony of Aristotle, though he does not exhibit the former after the model of the latter. Finally, he compares and illustrates the tenets of the old philosophers with the related doctrines of modern physics.

3.—*Cicero's Complete Orations: critically amended and illustrated. By Reinhold Klotz. In three vols. Leipsic.*

The principles of the editor, says a German reviewer, and his mode of proceeding have been long well known. In comparison with other philologists, who, in our times, have devoted themselves to Cicero's works, he is to be numbered among the Conservatives. He uniformly confines himself to those critical helps, which are regarded by him as the best and surest; and from this position, cautiously won, he seeks to destroy the matters which have been arbitrarily brought into Cicero's text; and thus the result of his criticism, indicated as conservative, is, that he has altered the common text far more than other principal critics, who have allowed many *lusus ingenii* to remain. For this critical investigation, a correct judgment of the more important helps was particularly requisite; and, not less so, was a thorough acquaintance with the entire writings of Cicero, and a fundamental knowledge of the Ciceronian *usus loquendi*; and, in both these particulars, the author is uncommonly able. Had he chosen, for the introductions and commentaries on these Orations, the Latin language, he would have given a decided practical proof, judging from his previous labors, that he is well able to imitate the Latinity of Cicero. It may be safely affirmed, that for a comprehensive (*allseitige*) interpretation of Cicero's Orations, a great advance has been made in this edition. A fourth volume of appendixes and notices is promised.

4.—*The Complete Works of Immanuel Kant.*

"The works of this deepest thinker of the 18th century may now be obtained in a complete form. The want, which has been deeply felt for a long time, is supplied. Out of the Kantian philosophy, the later systems have proceeded in an historical and logical order, remarkable in the highest degree. Though, for the most part, they differ widely from their source, both in form and contents, still, they all point back to a common origin. One cannot thoroughly master them without penetrating into the Kantian philosophy. The truth which is in them, in points where they differ most from Kant, rests on a verifying of their opposition to him. Besides, the disciples of Kant, and the results of his Critical Philosophy have not disappeared." Two complete editions of Kant's works—one in twelve volumes, the other in ten—have just been published at Leipsic. The former is edited by Profs. Rosenkranz and Schubert. The eleventh volume contains the life of Kant, his letters,

recollections of him, etc. by Schubert. The last volume embraces a history of the Kantian philosophy, by Rosenkranz. The other edition is edited by Prof. Hartenstein of Leipsic. This is printed in German characters, the former in Roman. The price of the latter is seventeen or eighteen dollars.—*Hall. Allg. Lit. Zeitung.*

5.—*Passow's Life and Letters.* By Dr. L. Wachter.

This work is divided into five sections:—the life of Passow before he entered the university; his university life before his removal to Weimar; his residence in Weimar; his life in Weimar, Jenkau and Berlin; and finally, in Breslau. Passow was educated at Leipsic, where he heard the lectures of Hermann, and had as fellow students, Seidler, Gräfe, Hand, Linge, Thiersch and others, whom he greatly esteemed. At Berlin, he heard the lectures of F. A. Wolf. The most important part of his life was spent as professor of ancient languages at Breslau. Here he resided from 1815 till his death, March 11, 1833. The letters in this volume give a very interesting picture of Passow, as a man, as a trustful friend, as uncommonly interesting in all the social relations of life. He had the love of his pupils in the highest degree. The services which he rendered to Greek literature, by his Lexicon and other labors, are invaluable.

6.—*Sketches from the History of my Education and Life.* By Dr. H. E. G. Paulus.

This book contains an account of the life and labors of the Nestor of German theologians, the gray-headed neologist. The fifteenth of April, 1839, completed a half century from the time that he became professor of oriental languages. On this occasion, a jubilee festival, as is common in Germany, was held. Gratulatory letters were sent from the faculties of Basle, Breslau, Giessen, Göttingen, Griefswalde, Halle, Jena, Kiel, Königsberg, Leipsic, Marburg, Rostock, Strassburg, Tübingen and Zürich. "That there was no response from Berlin and Erlangen is not a matter for surprise. The Berlin theological faculty still maintain the same hostile position to the recent evangelical freedom of mind, that Ingolstadt did in the times of the reformation, and Wittenberg in the pietistic controversy of the 17th and 18th centuries. On the other hand it is inconceivable by us, how the theological faculty of Bonn should have declined the invitation. Among the professors at Halle, who subscribed the invitation, we miss the name of Tholuck."—*Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeitung.*

7.—*Hours of Christian Devotion.* By Dr. A. Tholuck. Hamburg, 1840.

We have always expected much from the author, in the department of devotional literature; and we have long wondered why he should make the public wait for a book of this description. The present work is a successful attempt to offer to the Christian public the results of a rich spiritual experience, which has enjoyed the advantage and encountered the disadvantages of theological and philosophical speculation. The author has no less fondness for the sweet and gentle spirit of Christianity, than for its heaven-filling vastness and depth; and in his Medita-



tions are many passages, which produce in the reader a youthful and vigorous excitement, and he seems to hear the preacher who irresistibly bears away his hearers on the stream of his eloquence. Whose heart does not feel itself roused to earnest prayer, by the reflections contained in Nos. 34—38? The book is composed of 88 Meditations, introduced by texts of Scripture, and interspersed with striking passages from Luther and others.—*Berl. Literarische Zeitung*.

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 RUSSIA.

1.—*Russia:—its History, Statistics, Geography and Literature. By Thad. Bulgarin.*

Two volumes of this work, with the approbation, and, indeed, the co-operation of the author, have been translated into German, by H. von Brackel. The reputation of Bulgarin, especially for independence and impartiality, has been very high in Germany. Many of his countrymen have accused him of a want of depth and clearness. The reviewer suspects that neither opinion will be confirmed by this history. The statistics of the first volume have so little of "an Anti-Russian tendency," that the expectations of the Germans and the fears of the Russians will be equally disappointed. The work begins with a full exhibition of the strength of Russia, in territory and population. It then presents, in considerable detail, the character and condition of the people. The reviewer suspends his judgment respecting its merits, till the whole shall have appeared in German. He is confident, however, that it will be "a rich collection of contributions, generally authentic, to the statistics of Russia."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

2.—*The History of Russia. By U. Ustrialow. Vol I.*

This work has also been translated into German. Like that of Bulgarin, it is characterized by ardent anticipations of the future greatness of Russia. And it is worthy of notice, that most of the historical works, which have recently appeared in that country, are pervaded by the same feeling. The diplomacy of Europe, the author thinks, cannot long preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the dissolution of this unsightly dominion will inevitably issue in the aggrandizement of its northern neighbor. The Greek church is to become auxiliary to the same result. It seems to be a prominent object of this volume to strengthen the national feeling of the Russians, and, at the same time, to develop the monarchical spirit more fully, by showing that their importance and glory are owing to the existing *autocracy*. The conversion of the Russians to Christianity gives rise to some remarks on the difference between the Greek church and that of Rome. The missionaries of the latter labored, almost everywhere, to make converts by physical force; while the Greek church sought to extend its triumphs only by persuasion. The execution of the work is pronounced superior to that of Bulgarin. It presents the complicated details of early Russian history, with great clearness. It is not a mere narrative of political events. "The interior life and relations" of the people are described with truth and precision. The first volume closes at the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

## FRANCE.

1.—*Analysis of Roman History*: by E.-G. Arbanère. Paris.

This work follows the *Analysis of Asiatic and Grecian History*. It is the second part of this vast picture which is to unroll the successive developments of all human society. That which the nations of Asia and Greece have done for the East, the Romans alone have done for the West. Rome was the seat of the second civilization, which not only proved itself more vigorous and splendid than the first, but struck its roots so deep in the soil, that numerous traces of it continue to this day in the institutions and manners of all European nations.

Before this severe and faithful analysis, the magic charm of the Roman power gives place to profound disgust. Contempt succeeds to admiration, and we perceive how much men have deceived themselves, in respect to the tribute of gratitude and esteem which we have supposed to be due to the past. M. Arbanère exhibits a spirit no less independent than elevated. Except some views which seem too strongly marked by the prejudices of our epoch, and some ideas on political forms and the influence of language in the relations of domestic life, we have nothing to utter but praise. The analysis of modern history will soon come, we hope, to complete this grand picture.—*Revue Critique*.

2.—*Political History of Modern Spain: followed by a Sketch of the Finances*. By M. de Marliani. In two vols. Paris.

The author, himself a Spaniard, has played an important part in the recent history of his native country. His first object is to discover the explanation of its present depressed condition. He goes back to the reign of Charles V., and dwells particularly on the disastrous influence of Philip II., who established a despotism on the power of the priesthood. In his hands, the inquisition became a terrible instrument to stifle every thing like opposition to his will. His enormous expenditures led to oppressive exactions, which exhausted the resources of the country, and presented a frightful example of pillage and destruction. His successors imitated his example; hence, Spain has become what she is. The present government has committed, the author thinks, two grand mistakes. 1. It has done nothing to restore confidence and open new sources of credit. 2. It has made a new organization, without regard to institutions which are still full of life, and from which must come the elements of strength. But he does not despair of the future: he thinks that Spain is capable of great things. The work is rich in facts, new, interesting and important, and it is written in good French.—*Revue Critique*.

3.—*Narratives of the Merovingian Times: preceded by Reflections on the History of France*. By Aug. Thierry. In two vols. Paris.

M. Thierry has selected the form of episodic narrative, resembling that of the chronicles from which he has drawn his materials. Besides the numerous advantages which this method presents, it is better suited than any other to his talents. He is remarkable for a peculiar facility

in seizing the characteristic traits of men and things, and reproducing them in a style, attractive, animated and dramatic. Notwithstanding the distance of the Merovingian times, these narratives will be read with as much and even more pleasure than the best novel. We cannot but admire the versatility of this superior intellect, which unites to investigations the most laborious, and erudition the most profound, the most brilliant literary qualities.

In a long Introduction, M. Thierry reviews the labors bestowed on the history of France at different epochs, and the systems adopted by different writers. Contrary to the prevailing opinion of most historians of the new school, he condemns the irruption of philosophy into the domain of history. He concludes by regretting that most of the ablest of our historians, since 1830, have exchanged the quiet of the study for a brilliant political career.—*Revue Critique*.

4.—*The Stuarts. By Alexander Dumas. In two vols. Paris.*

M. Dumas writes history as if it were a novel. He lets his ingenious and prolific pen run on, without troubling himself to resort to sources, new or little known, and without trying to elucidate obscure points. He is content to report facts as he finds them in the English historians, availing himself of every thing which is dramatic, and suited to interest the greatest number of readers. His work, therefore, is a sketch, light, brilliant and animated, in which there is more art than learning, and from which historic truth has gained but little. It resembles Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*. M. Dumas is not a historian, probably he has never attended to the studies fitted to make him such.—*Revue Critique*.

5.—*Political Economy of the Romans. By Dureau de la Malle. In two vols. Paris.*

This work—the fruit of long and learned research—throws new light on the social organization of ancient Rome, and on the institutions political, civil and fiscal, under which she became mistress of the world. It discusses the subjects of population, money, property, taxes and the expense of living. It exposes the whole machinery of the Roman administration, and in this way gives us a thorough knowledge of civil life, such as it then was. The author has given us a summary of all which classic writers have left us on this subject. *Political Economy*, however, is a singular title to give to a book, which proves that the Romans had no idea of this modern science, not even its first principles.—*Revue Critique*.

6.—*History of the Age of Augustus and the Establishment of the Roman Empire. By M. Nougarede, Baron de Faget. Paris.*

This eventful period, so rich in lessons for the people as well as for princes, is described by the author with uncommon skill. The picture which he presents is full of life and interest; and we discover the traces of a genuine classic erudition, and a profound study of the great writers of antiquity. The style is simple, pure, sometimes a little too elaborate, but always dignified, serious and worthy of the subject.—*Revue Critique*.

## ARTICLE XIV.

## SELECT LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

A Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: illustrated from Scripture and the Fathers. By Edwin Bosanquet, M. A. London.

The Productive Resources of India. By J. F. Royle, M. D., F. R. S. London.

Woman's Rights and Duties. By a Woman, 2 vols. London.

An Introduction to the Grammar of the Sanscrit Language. By Prof. H. H. Wilson. London.

Hitopadésa:—the Sanscrit Text of the first Book, or Mitra-Lābha; with a Grammatical Analysis. By Prof. Johnson, East India College, 4to. London.

Analecta Hebraica; with Notes and Paradigms. By C. W. H. Pauli. Oxford.

Primitive Christian Worship; or the Evidence of Holy Scripture and the Church, concerning the Invocation of Saints and Angels and the Blessed Virgin Mary. By J. E. Tyler, B. D., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London.

Lectures on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Vol. III. Glasgow.

Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III. By James Vernon, Esq. Sec. of State; edited by G. P. R. James, Esq. Author of the Memoirs of the Court of Louis XIV. etc. 3 vols. London.

The Dream and other Poems. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London.

A History of England; in which it is intended to consider Men and Events on Christian Principles. By Henry Walter, B. D. Prof. of Nat. Phil. East India Company's College. 7 vols. London.

The Certainties of Geology. By Sidney Gibson, Esq. London.

German Literature. By Wolfgang Menzel. Translated from the German, with Notes, by Thomas Gordon, 4 vols. Oxford.

History of the Church of Ireland, from the Revolution to the Union. By the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D. D., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, Vol. II. London.

Elements of Electro-Metallurgy; or, the Art of Working in Metals by the Galvanic Fluid. By Alfred Smee, Surgeon to the Bank of England. London.

History of British and Foreign Quadrupeds. By James H. Fennel. London.

Notes on the Parables of our Lord. By Richard C. French, M. A. London.

Journal of a Residence in Circassia. By S. S. Bell, 2 vols. London.

Lectures on the Headship of Christ. By different Presbyterian Ministers. London.



The Excitement: a Book to induce Young People to read. 12th of the series. By Rev. R. Jamieson. London.

Absolute Monarchy:—the Russian Empire. Published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.

The Civilization of Africa. By Sir George Stephen. London.

The Great Civil War of Charles I. and the Parliament. By Rev. Richard Cattermole, B. D. London.

Memoir of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings. By the Author of the Life of Sir F. Munro. Vols. I. and II. London.

The Last Age of the Church. By John Wyclyffe. From a MS. in the University Library, Dublin, by J. H. Todd, D. D., Fellow, etc. Dublin.

History of England under the House of Stuart, including the Commonwealth. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. 2 vols. London.

## GERMANY.

Historisches Taschenbuch: herausgegeben von F. von Raumer. Neue Folge. 2ter Jahrg. Leipzig, 1841.

Acta-Historico-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX: herausgegeben von G. F. H. Rheinwald. Jahrg. 1837. Hamburg.

Das Neue Testament nach Zweck, Ursprung, Inhalt für denkende Leser der Bibel: von Dr. K. A. Credner. Theil I. Giessen, 1841.

Concordantiæ Librorum Vet. Test. Sac. Heb. atque Chald. etc. auct. J. Fürstio. Sectio XI. Lipsiæ.

Spinoza als Metaphysiker vom Standpunkte der historischen Kritik: von Dr. K. Thomas. Königsberg.

Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt: von Heinrich Ewald. Band I. Stuttgart.

Schleiermacher's (Friedrich) sämtliche Werke. 1ste Abth. Zur Theologie. 11ter Band: herausgegeben von G. Bonnell. Berlin.

Die christliche Dogmatik oder Glaubenswissenschaft: dargestellt von W. Böhmer. Breslau.

Friedrich Wilhelm III. Sein Leben, sein Wirken und seine Zeit: von J. C. Kretzschmer. Danzig.

Die Offenbarung Johannis, vollständig erklärt: von Züllig. 2ter Theil, Stuttgart.

Gregorii Nazianzeni (S.) Carmina Selecta. Accedit Nicetæ Davidis Paraphrasis nunc primum e Codice Cusano Edita: cura Ernesti Dronke. Gottingæ.

Die Musik als Heilmittel, oder: Der Einfluss der Musik auf Geist und Körper des Menschen, und deren Anwendung in verschiedenen Krankheiten: von Dr. L. Raudnitz. Ebendas.

Der Geist der talmudischen Auslegung der Bibel. 1ster Theil. Halachische Exegese: von Dr. H. S. Hirschfeld. Berlin.

Das Eine und Mannichfaltige des christlichen Lebens. Dargestellt in einer Reihe kleiner Gelegenheitsschriften, grösstentheils biographischen Inhalts: von Dr. Aug. Neander. Berlin.

Das Reich der Geister. Eine strenge Auswahl des Interessantesten und Glaubwürdigsten, was von Ahnungen und Geistererscheinungen bis jetzt bekannt geworden ist: gesammelt von A. L. 2tes Heft. Blaubeuren.

## RUSSIA.

Recueil des Actes de la Séance publique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, tenue le 29 Dec. 1839. St. Petersbourg, 1840.

Die Galvanoplastik, oder das Verfahren cohärentes Kupfer in Platten oder nach sonst gegebenen Formen, unmittelbar aus Kupferauflösungen, auf galvanischem Wege zu produciren. St. Petersburg, 1840.

## FRANCE.

Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires de Médecine Français et étrangers, etc : par une Société de Médecins, sous la Direction du Docteur Fabre. Vol. III. Paris.

Edifices de Rome Moderne, ou Recueil des Palais, Maisons, Eglises Couvents, etc. de Rome : par P. Letarouilly. 4to. Paris.

Essais de Zoologie générale, ou Mémoires et Notices sur la Zoologie générale, l'Anthropologie et l'Histoire de la Science : par M. I. G. Saint-Hilaire. Paris.

Ethique, ou Science des Mœurs : par J. Tissot. Paris.

Histoire abrégée de la Philosophie : par J. Tissot. Paris.

Logique de Kant, traduite de l'Allemand : par J. Tissot. Paris.

Crimes (les) des Rois de France, depuis le Commencement de la Monarchie jusqu'à Charles X. 2 vols. Paris.

Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde ; Répertoire universel des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, avec des Notices sur les principales Familles historiques et sur les Personnages célèbres, morts et vivants : par une Société de Savants, etc., Français et étrangers. Tome XIV. Paris.

Etudes historiques sur les Révolutions d'Espagne et de Portugal : par Ch. L. de Haller. 2 vols. Paris.

Histoire élémentaire et critique de la Littérature : par M. E. Lisfranc. Paris.

France (la) littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique des Savants, Historiens et Gens de Lettres de la France, ainsi que des Littérateurs étrangers que ont écrit en Français : par J.-N. Quérard. 19 livraisons. Paris.

Physiologie du Chant : par Stéphen de la Madelaine. Paris.

Traité expérimental de l'Electricité et du Magnétisme et de leurs Phénomènes naturels : par M. Becquerel. Tome VI. Paris.

Voyage dans l'Inde, pendant les Années 1828 à 1832 : par V. Jaquemont. Livraisons 27 et 28, in 4to. Paris.

## BELGIUM.

Histoire des Relations Commerciales et Diplomatiques des Pays-Bas avec le Nord de l'Europe, pendant le 16me siècle, accompagnée de pièces Justificatives, inédites : par J. J. Altmeyer. Bruxelles.

De Bruxelles à Constantinople : par un Touriste Flamand. Bruxelles.